1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 439]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The primary reciprocity at Chunut and other valley tribes' mourning ceremonies was between tribes, secondarily between moieties. 616 The tribal reciprocity was like that of the foothills, and the tribes functioning in this 619 relationship likewise were called gi''i. J.A. remembers two large celebrations, one a Telamni ceremony where the Wowol were the gi'i, and another in Drum Valley where the Wukchumni served as gi'i to the Wakzachi. On this last occasion moieties were not involved as neither tribe was moietized.

Once understood, the double reciprocity of tribe and moiety is very simple: opposite moieties of the opposed tribes washed each other, thus theoretically, Tokelyuwich of Tribe 1 washed Nutuwich of Tribe 2, Nutuwich of Tribe 1 washed Tokelyuwich of Tribe 2. Details are given in place in the following account of the week's ceremonial.

A little ceremony, "the private mourning ceremony," was held in the third moon following a death. The relatives of the deceased sent some money to the chief of the opposite moiety. At the end of six days the chief had much meat and mush cooked up. He appointed someone to wash the male mourners, and the food was consumed after the washing was done. This was called witi lonuw:s (little ceremony), or one said of it teya'o wa'ha'l tsume'lnut (first cry going to wash).

769 When the time approached for the "big," or annual, mourning ceremony, a preliminary ceremony called kiyu'w:s was held for the purpose of making plans.[206] A Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich chief assembled the people of each moiety. They all gathered and danced, and each moiety paid the other for this entertainment. The chiefs "each had a family to do the washing."

The Tachi, M.G., said that all the chiefs of a village had to unanimously favor a mourning ceremony before one could be given. There were no secondary chiefs (tuye''i) here, as there were in the foothill tribes.

Although "money passed between chiefs" at mourning ceremonies, it was not a matter of payment for loans: the distribution of money for interest, elsewhere called lakn:'n:ts, J.A. could not define or describe. Neither was there a fetishistic element involved.[207] "At the end of ten months they [the mourners] took money to some tia''a. At the end of six days this tia'a had lots of mush cooked up. He washed those men," said J.A. She believed the money was given solely for the specific service of washing, not for the food.

The mourning ceremony itself (lonu'lw:s) lasted six days. Each day for four days

---

[206] Such was my understanding; no amount of questioning seemed to clarify J.A.'s statements.

[207] Cf. Strong, Aboriginal Society, passim.

769 special mourning singers (ahe´n·č) sang in the early morning and evening; there were criers (pa´´iš) also. Everyone who felt like it would join the singers and criers in their activities, which were of short duration. The singers would put out their hands and the mournful sounds ceased. During the six days of the affair men could play pole games, but no other games.

J.A. gave the order of rituals for the Annual Mourning Ceremony thus: huhuna (Huhuna), guksai (Guksai), heswas (shamans' contest), ma´tek pa´hat ("big" cry), tsumo´lwas (ceremonial washing), hatim (pleasure dance with women participating), and kam (doctor's dancing with songs).

On the third day the Huhuna Dance was given. The performer, who was not a shaman, [293] was dressed entirely in a full-length costume of feathers. A net closely covered his face and head, and to it were affixed two abalone discs which covered the eyes, and two feather horns resembling an owl's "ears." He had a bone whistle in his mouth and carried a little stick (see fig. 8, c). He went around the dance space and found money. (J.A. says he could see in spite of the shell discs, i.e., naturally, not magically.) A winatum had built a fire, and by it a doctor prepared his shot to kill Huhuna. It appeared to the spectators that Huhuna was unaware of his fate: they wept. When the doctor propelled his invisible shot and Huhuna fell unconscious, a winatum carried him aside. The doctor sucked out the shot, spat it on a tray; the winatum burned the intrusive matter. On Huhuna's revival the weeping ceased.

The people who were giving the mourning ceremony paid Huhuna [and the doctor, presumably]. When J.A. was a little girl she attended a Tachi (?) mourning ceremony where Tsewa (Joe, a Tachi of Nutuwich moiety) performed the Huhuna Dance; she does not know who the doctor was. Another time, twenty years ago, she saw the dance at Tule River Reservation; and again she saw it at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley (Wukchumni territory) where it was followed by a Guksai Dance. Inferentially it appears it was not normally part of a Chunut mourning ceremony.

769 On the fourth day of the mourning ceremony
756 the doctors' contest (he´swas) took place in midafternoon. There was no preliminary or little contest as there was in the foothills. The contest began with the making of airshot (tu´yus sa´m·n, airshot make). In the dance space, which had no special name or enclosure, the doctors' winatums had built fires for each doctor. Soaproot (ṭo´hot) and "some other root that has little spines all over it, from the lake" were put on the fire to make the shot, but nothing visible resulted. At Pisras, and also at Ciau (Kingston) three doctors were on each side and, in the center, one powerful

769 shaman who was in the range of shot from both sides. Each doctor had a large tray (tsa'p:t) 756 and in unison they held these -- in both hands, at opposite edges, and tray face outward -- over the fire, toward the west, the east, upward, then toward the north, the south, and face down over the fire. While the tray was over the fire the doctor drew the smoke over it with his hand. The tray was then laid on the ground and stamped on with one foot. The tray was picked up and "smearing" motions made over it with the hand and the "shot" appeared as the hand made these rubbing movements.

The doctors sang "hela'lmo ha! ha! ha!" (breathed heavily) as they did this, and a crowd of boys who had been standing on each side and who carried poles with handkerchiefs attached, joined in the "Ha! ha! ha!" and waved their poles.

The doctors, who were dressed in the usual ceremonial costume, had otter (naha''at), weasel (po'hat), or beaver (?) (waki''as) skins fastened at their wrists. (Seal [te'p:k] could [825 753 not be used for this purpose; if it were, everyone present would have pains and sickness.) These animals, which were talismans of a sort, caught opponents' shots in their mouths. The doctor could extract such shot, put it on his own tray, and return it to its sender. The shot was propelled by the usual method of banging the tray violently on the ground face downward.

When a doctor was struck he staggered about and fell down; his winatum placed a basket beside him and everyone put in a little money. At the same time the contestants shifted their position 90 degrees, i.e., to the next sides of an imaginary square.

The doctor in the center was never [sic] known to fall. It was he who must begin reviving the fallen, for only a doctor who sent a shot could extract it. At mourning ceremonies at Pisras it was always Sapagai who took the center position; up at Ciau (Kingston) J.A. saw Kosewa in the middle. The contesting doctors were all supposed to be benevolent, i.e., to be willing and able to revive their victims, because they were working for display purposes at the request of chiefs, who paid them for their services.[108]

769 The fifth day (nowadays, Saturday) people spent in preparation for the big cry (ma't:k pa'hat) that night. At the dance place winatums had a large fire built which was lighted at dusk. The members of the mourning families paraded around the fire twice during the night. Some of them carried "dolls" dressed in clothes and draped with beads [money] on long poles; others carried baskets, feather ornaments, or other valuable objects. When these were finally thrown on the fire, which was seemingly

[108] But see anecdotal material from this and other informants in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

769 but pretense, two or three women winatums rescued them and put them on a blanket. These women kept the "dolls' clothes" but the frames were burned. Speeches were made from time to time accompanied by intermittent weeping.

769 At dawn, after the burning, the ceremonial washing took place. The Telamni were ranged on
783 the west side of the dance space, their gi'i, the Wowol, opposite them on the east side. This dividing was called wɨkči wɨs and made the sides yɨt ka yɨt (one to one). A chief of each moiety of the Telamni had a large washing basket set out between the spectators; their messengers gathered the bereaved who were to be washed. These people gave the messengers money for their chiefs (to compensate for the baskets which the chiefs provided?). The Wowol chiefs, a Tokelyuwich and a Nutuwich, had with them new clothes for the mourners. They or their wives washed the faces of first, the chief of that moiety, then those of the mourners, taking the more important persons first. The new clothing was donned, and the washers received the washing baskets. The changing of clothes was called kasa'osɨl. A chief of the washers said to the bereaved, "They burned. Now you will forget and be happy" ("mɨm tulun. hi'na ma hi'nasu munɨn").

769 Then the messengers went about shouting to
524 everyone to play games. Any kind of game might be played, but the hand game was most popular as it had been tabu during the preceding days. The messengers said there would be dancing at night.

769 The pleasure dance (hatɨm) or doctor's
535 dance (kam) was danced by men and women all night. Some people who had special supernatural powers might dance also. Oto'ki'at (Tillie Wilcox), a Telamni, was one of the best singers and dancers, but she was not tɨpni, so far as J.A. knows, "though nobody can tell." Such dancing was done merely to entertain. At dawn everyone went to bathe. Then people lingered about visiting or sleeping or returned to their homes.

769 J.A. saw two large mourning ceremonies in her childhood. The last "big fandango" in the valley was made by Joaquín, a Telamni chief at Pisras. He was Tokelyuwich and was washed by Charlie Thomas, a Nutuwich Wowol chief, and his family. One woman of Thomas' family washed Joaquín and his wife. The Wowol were the Telamni's gi'i.

At Drum Valley, J.A. attended a mourning ceremony given by Co'o'po (Bill Osborn), Waksachi, Otoki'at's (Tillie Wilcox's) first husband. She thinks they were mourning for Sono'lenɨn. Their son was crying. Some Wukchumni did the washing, but J.A. cannot identify them. The Waksachi called the Wukchumni
[616] gi'i. No moieties were involved, of course. Buffalo Bill's wife, Lottie, gave J.A. a basket and a red bead necklace for her help in making a cross which was taken to the grave.

769 178 Although Pohasa was an important captain, no proper mourning ceremony for him was made as "not enough people were left." For several years aberrant, rather private, ceremonies have been held, but recently Tachi of the chiefly lineage have refused to attempt any ceremonial mourning observances.

769 616 Gifford states in his notes on Tachi moieties:

> In mourning ceremonies (bahatya) the nutuwuts chief washes the faces of the toxelyuwiš mourners, while the toxelyuwiš chief does the same for the nutuwuts mourners. Each chief is assisted by three women. At such a mourning ceremony everyone cries and wails.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 668 J.A. said she did not remember much about the Ghost Dance, it was "just like a dream." She was a little girl when they were living at Pisras and someone came and told her uncle Charlie [the chief, Tipwatswat] that everyone must go up to Eshom Valley. This messenger told the Tachi, Wowol, and Tule River people the same thing: no one was to stay behind. They believed they were going to see dead people, that all their relatives were coming back.

When they arrived in Eshom Valley they were told not to sleep. J.A. was too little to dance so she hung about with two girl cousins. Little children like themselves might sleep, but one big girl "died" because she slept. Lying near the fire, she remained unconscious for about an hour. Everyone went to look at her. No one attempted to revive her: she "just woke up."

Everyone was exhorted to dance, with the threat that they would die if they did not participate. A few people "died and came to life again." One girl "died fighting her mother"; she returned to life but was mentally deranged thereafter.

Shamans did not participate but reclined under shades and reported occasionally on what they heard from the supernatural world. They did not dance, even with solo performances.

One man, a Telamni, went around telling what he had heard. Such a person was called kosa'na; other tribes [the valley people] called a man like that hilet·ts, a great talker.

[P. 46 C] Paleuyami

764
767 look back for your family." Then they filled in the earth. They were paid for this work, and cleansed themselves by bathing.

775 The spirits of the dead went toward the sunset, where the red clouds are seen as their red paint. The chief there is T:p: 'kn:ts; he is like a person and is prayed to. His daughters, who wear rattlesnake dresses, help people cross the dangerous bridge to the afterworld.[111]

769 When the Annual Mourning Ceremony took
767 place, the buriers had a special dance (to'onči'ma) which they performed very early every morning. The winatum went around and woke everyone, saying that it was time for the dance to start. The dancers wore a costume of bones "all tied together," false hair of shredded willow bark which hung down the back, and false ears made of jackrabbit tails. They carried digging sticks in their right hands, and each had a burden basket on his back. The four performers stood in a row, while the corpse-carrier led their singing. They kept time with their canes. The mourners who came to join in the singing brought food (seeds or acorn meal) which they gave to the buriers at the end of the performance. The recipients snatched it and threw it over their shoulders into their baskets; if they did not accept it instantly when offered, it was thrown in their faces.

838 All of the buriers were called tonoč:m,
767 but not all were transvestites. The apparent women usually were, but the men, like Wilihana, dressed and occupied themselves normally.[112] The transvestites dressed as women and went seed-gathering with them. M.A. did not know what determined such a changed life, but was certain there was no special dream force behind it.

769 M.A. added that when visitors arrived for a mourning ceremony, they were lined up by a winatum and paid a little money. This was done for everyone regardless of whether he brought food to contribute.

SHAMANISM

756 M.A.'s father was a rattlesnake doctor. He could make rattlesnakes appear at any time and at any place; he "made them come down from the sun." When M.A. was little, her father

[111] Gayton and Newman, 19.

[112] It is possible that such men were not transvestites but were in homosexual relation with those who assumed the female role.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

T
Y
159

[P. 50 e] Tubatulabal NS22

member.[125] His father (name "not recalled") was a chief's winatum: Dove was his lineage totem, Cougar his dream helper. He died when F.M. was about ten years old. F.M. says he too was a chief's winatum: he took Eagle as his family totem because of his chiefly descent on his mother's side, and Coyote was his dream helper. F.M.'s father had one sister who, he says, had no children. F.M.'s full brother was killed in "a big fight" at Kernville when the informant was about twelve years old. A half-brother, Esteban Miranda, who had a Pitanisha

T
[769
551]

[125] This informant was one of the few who observed name tabus on the dead.

[i.e. Frank Manuel. -Analyst]

622 The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.[227] For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

622 539 556 754 The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money, he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

622 756 A chief could himself be a shaman, as was J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

624 769 Subchief.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had a type of secondary chief (tuye''i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye''i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.[228] If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

---

[227] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228] This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

621 being related." They thought that M.L.'s segregations of related animals (see below) had
616 no social or functional basis. And, finally, when J.P. was given a description of the moiety system in the Lake tribes, e.g., Tachi, he said he "had heard of it but nobody up here did it."

Moiety division of the Yaudanchi was clearly denied by M.S. and S.G.

101 To turn to the positive information, the terms tokelyuw:č and nutuw:č were known to both
619 M.L. and J.B., and both agreed on the meanings which the words held for the Wukchumni.[233] Tokelyuwich means westward and, by topographical analogy, lowlandward or downstream; Nutuwich means eastward or, topographically, upland, mountainward, or upstream. The Wukchumni pronunciation is tokelyu´w:č. The two words do not literally mean upstream and downstream, the terms for which are do´mto i´d:kao and da´tu id:kao, respectively.

M.L. classified tribes in these terms, as Tokelyuwich or westward: Tachi, Wodaši (Wolasi), Tedumni (Telamni), Choinok, Chunut, Gawia, and Yokod; as Nutuwich or eastward: Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni, and Wobonuch. J.B. gave a comparable grouping but included Gawia and Yokod with the easterners, thus, Tokelyuwich: Tachi, Wolasi, Telamni, Choinok, Nutunutu, Chunut; Nutuwich: Gawia, Yokod, Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni.

619 The Wukchumni put this tribal grouping
582 into effect only at the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Even then the grouping was not followed
[769] when playing games. It in no way affected marriage: persons with the same totemic animal (poša) were free to marry as long as the blood kinship was not known to be closer than that of third cousins. Cross-cousin marriage was not countenanced, and indeed the question was unlikely to arise as all first cousins were regarded as of the same closeness as siblings and were called by sibling terms.

616 Neither did the moiety affect the arrange-
619 ment for reciprocal washing during the mourning ceremony. The washing was reciprocal primarily
769 between families having the same totemic animal (poša), secondarily between tribes. Thus the reciprocity which was traditional for the Wukchumni was with the Waksachi (both "Nutuwich" tribes), but if for some reason the proper family were not available another one of the same totem but of another tribe would be chosen, not another Waksachi family of different totem. (For further details see "Annual Mourning Ceremony.")

616 The Wukchumni concept of moiety, then, is
619 applicable only to tribes, and is manifest only at the Annual Mourning Ceremony where the visiting people are grouped by tribe as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich. Their camping places are so

---

[233] It should be mentioned that M.L. and J.B. were far removed from one another, J.B. having moved to Dunlap long ago, so they did not influence each other's opinions.

616 assigned (eastside or westside), and as families arrive they are received by winatums and
619 asked their provenience, so to say, before being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There was no dividing up [according to family totem] at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among the tia'a. All the other people followed the tia'a of their own village."

574 The spatial arrangement at a mourning
769 ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and recipients opposite each other, and the visit-
616 ors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and west were not always followed as the spatial possibilities differed from village to village.

619 The second manifestation of this tribal
769 moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Cere-
616 mony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich according to their tribal affiliations. To exemplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom
619 he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe,
756 totem animal, and directional affiliation, as
616 follows:

Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či´čen (Rattlesnake); Ta´sowːk (Rattlesnake); Po´hač (Rattlesnake); Umičа´na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu´šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušlːlːn (Rattlesnake); Kaplːlːn (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li´sːš (Owl); U´nun (Owl); Sa´pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiye´mai and his brother, Po´sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati´sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

616 When J.B.'s attention was called to the
825 fact that his groupings, as given above, were aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe),
[756] he claimed he could not recall any participants in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals as symbols. [It seems possible to me that shamans with the same totems may have stayed together and been assigned to one or the other side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety persons were visiting or participating with a moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B., if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck, and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear, Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel, Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 124a] Wukchumni

796 provided and paid for all the food that was eaten at the end of the ritual.

ANNUAL MOURNING CEREMONY

●769 A ceremony (duniša) which at once emphasized and dissipated the hardships of mourning was held at one- to three-year intervals by each tribe in the Central Foothill region. The number and financial status of bereaved persons determined its frequency. The ideal was an annual occurrence, which was the normal schedule for a tribe as large as the Wukchumni or [556] Telamni, but unless a tribe was large and the bereaved were wealthy a yearly occurrence was not warranted. Tribes like the Gawia and Yokod would hold the ceremony once in three or four years. Three to six families would sponsor the affair with, of course, coöperation from their chief.

Great expense was entailed in these six-day affairs and the money and gifts had to be assembled by the sponsors before one could be undertaken. When the bereaved families believed themselves sufficiently prepared, they told their chief's winatum. The chief then consulted with the heads of the families and also consulted other chiefs of the same tribe in other villages (if, as with the Wukchumni, more than one village was involved). If all were in agreement, the date would be roughly set at least one and sometimes three months ahead to permit the accumulation of necessary food and the preparation of shelters.

Financial Preparations

The mourning families had collected sums of money which they now gave to the chief. Amounts were added to this by the chief, his subchiefs -- i.e., chiefs from the other villages of his tribe and the especially appointed tuye'i who functioned only at this time -- and by any other persons, men or women, [426] who wished to contribute. Some men borrowed money for this at the regular rate of 50 per cent interest as a pure business investment, for reasons made clear below. The whole amount [426] S.G. and J.P. estimated as roughly equivalent to $200.00; the aboriginal money was, of course, shell beads.

769 The disposal of this sum was called
431 lakana´nič and followed an established method.
437 A tribe, sometimes more than one, was selected as the recipient; but this tribe was not the tribe of the ceremonial reciprocants or official washers, although there was no rule that it might not be. Wukchumni recipients were usually Telamni or Chunut. The recipients of the sum were to return it with 100 per cent interest at the time of the ceremony. The sum plus its duplicate was called ilu´us. (The

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 1246] Wakchamni

769
431 normal rate of interest was at 50 per cent,
tu Tiwis.)
437 To return to the original contributors of the sum, each one who had put in an amount, say $10.00, had to agree to provide an equivalent amount of food or gifts ($10.00 worth) which would be received by the recipients at the end of the ceremony. In other words: in terms of value, no profit was made on either side; in terms of materials, the hosts received money in exchange for commodities. The money was required to pay the washers, singers, winatums, huhuna dancer and accompanying shaman, the participants in the Shamans' Contest, and entertainers on the final day of celebration, and, above all, to pay for the food provided and consumed throughout the week. The recipients who received the commodities could sell them on the spot if the transactions were possible. All informants agreed that a great deal of side trading went on during, and on the final day of, the ceremony. Naturally, the opportunity was unparalleled throughout the year.

At the inception of a mourning ceremony then, a sum of money was made up by the mourners, chiefs, and investors of the host tribe and taken to another tribe by a winatum. Before setting out, the winatum was given a meal and a payment by his chief: in return the winatum made a slight gift to the chief, which might be money, food, or clothing. At the village to which he was sent the winatum was received as usual by the chief and given a meal. An assemblage was called, the purpose of the visit announced, and the money distributed to those tribal members who wished to accept it, knowing the obligation it entailed and the "gifts" they might expect in return. The chief of the recipient tribe was responsible for the personal accounts, as it were, of his fellows. That is, at the ensuing ceremony, the return of the money with its interest and the receiving of gifts from the hosts were carried out between the chiefs (by means of winatums). The individual sums were not collected until the last day of the ceremony (the day of the washing ritual) when they were presented in toto to the host chief, or such was my understanding.

The tribe approached as recipient was not obliged to accept. If it were deemed advisable by the chiefs, subchiefs, and others to decline, this was done, or a compromise might be suggested, i.e., that they take part of the funds and that the remainder be sent to another tribe. Even if accepted the money could yet be returned within six days if on further consultation the recipients felt they could not meet the obligation. If this happened, the sender's winatum was sent to take back the money; the recipient winatum did not take it but took only the message to the sender chief explaining the situation. When, as a result of this, the sender's winatum went after the money, he was paid by both parties for the service.

[P. 1259] Western Mono NS25

Y 769 431 437 When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka'suwaš.

Y [224] [558]

Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Y [736]

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Y [426]

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Reciprocity

Y 769

The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe in the entire function.

Y M 769

The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

648 767

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.1256] Wash. Mono NS25
V
M
769
648
767

them later came independently from Waksachi informants.

Wukchumni	Waksachi
Čiw·ñyi's family (chief)	Bill Osborn's family (chief)
J.B., his mother and brother	Bill Tyner's family
Jim Hangton (Pohot family)	Bob Osborn[275]
Mollie Lawrence	Tom Bacon
Walai (winatum)	Sam Osborn (winatum)

Sometimes, J.B. said, a chief's family would wash two or three other families, not necessarily all acting chiefs, but of chiefly lineage.

The reciprocal pairs of tribes were listed by J.B.; statements of other informants are initialed.

Wukchumni-Waksachi	Gawia-Yokod
Wukchumni-Patwisha (secondarily)	Wolasi-Telamni
Wukchumni-Yaudanchi (J.P.)	Choinuk-Chunut
Waksachi-Entimbich (secondarily)	Tachi-Nutunutu
Waksachi-Michahai (secondarily)	

The families who came to wash the mourners brought with them the special washing baskets and new clothes in which to dress the released mourners. These, after they were washed, dressed, and in receipt of the washing baskets, paid the washers either with cash or with gifts of valuable objects. Informants seemed to think that this exchange was an equal one; at least in theory neither washer nor washee was a gainer.

Organization and Administration

769
648

The host tribe, the reciprocant tribe, and the financial associate tribe by no means comprised all the persons present at an Annual Mourning Ceremony. Anyone who wished was welcome to come as a spectator, and these were many. Interchanges of festivities took place between the following tribes, from whom attend-

[275] See the Waksachi account of a recent mourning ceremony wherein Entimbich people served as washers because "the right people" (the Wukchumni Pohots) were not there.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 126 a] Wukchumni

769 ants might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni,
648 Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit,
Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts);
also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobo-
nuch, the last two but recently and rarely (all
Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the
[578] hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from
the list as given by J.P.; the list is corrobo-
rated, of course, by other informants and much
indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:[276] Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Foothill area.

769 The organization and administration of the
624 ceremony lay in the hands of one or two of-
571 ficials who functioned only on such occasions,
the yate'ɬ or "dance managers." Not all in-
formants agree whether this was a regular of-
ficial or not; perhaps only larger tribes had
need of them. They were the "bosses" of the
winatums who, both male and female, were worked
to the utmost in their responsibility of pro-
viding shelter, water, firewood and, above all,
[417] sufficient food for the crowds. Around the
assembly space were erected long shades, with
back screens if needed, under which the visi-
tors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically
the reciprocants[277] were camped opposite the
hosts, the other visitors at each end; infor-
mants were indefinite as to how far this plan
was followed. In the families of the winatums
all members helped: the older winatums saw
that there was sufficient food and generally
directed activities, while their sons supplied
wood and water and carried messages, and their
wives and daughters prepared and cooked food.
The visiting winatums, particularly those of
the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts
paid for their services just as they paid their
own winatums. The preparation and organization
175 of these affairs for a large tribe like the
769 Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks
of this at Chischa.[278]

---

[276] Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

[277] Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

[278] Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 126 b] Wukchumni

175
769 I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the
161 walk I took [around the village], and about
600 women and children all placed before this
village. Across the front of the ranchería I
[361] counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which
makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back
[342] 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an im-
perfect half moon. All [the houses] are of
mats and willow branches. In front of the
ranchería were guests, all separated, where I
directed myself along with the captains who ac-
companied me. Each of them were in little
groups; thus men, women, and children were
presented to me, and it was not possible to
count them as I had done with the Chischas.
However, the number of young men was not less
than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of
Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo
[561] which was near by. On its banks, I found more
than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for
[252] the atoles of the guests, while younger ones
were grinding seeds on stones as is their
custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of
their neighboring friends who were found as-
sembled, presented in number some 2400 persons,
all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in
hiding, and later over one hundred visitors
175 came from another rancheria.
769 The visitors brought with them their own
574 mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling
525 equipment. Games and gambling were frowned
upon at the site of the ceremony, but during
the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play
shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting
distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 Events during the six days of the cere-
177 mony followed a definite program. Since the
introduction of European culture, and perhaps
owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the
period has been equated with weekdays so that
the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the
washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration
on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the
[532] first day or two (Monday and Tuesday)guests be-
gan arriving, and the bereaved families spent
their time making the effigy dolls; on the
third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the
Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a
minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was
to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday)
the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the
burning of effigies; and on the seventh day
(Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The
native feeling was that the effigy burning and
subsequent washing and celebrating all con-
stituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is
not illogical as the events continued from
Saturday evening until Sunday evening without
break for sleep or rest.

5

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 127 a] Wukchumni

769 767 152 Ritual weeping.---Throughout the week a group of professional mourning singers, the tonoč:m, at dawn and at sunset sang mourning songs accompanied by wails of the bereaved. According to M.P., on these occasions the bereaved took out the effigy dolls, the gifts of money and baskets, and exhibited them by carrying them to the assembly fire. The singers and mourners all moved with a special dancelike step as they alternately sang and wept. The singers sang; then their leader held his hands forward palm down as a signal to cease, at which the mourners immediately broke into wails of grief. As soon as this was over, the effigies and treasures were retired to the special hut in which they were kept.

The informant M.L. maintained that the singers and mourners gathered outside the village for this ritual expression of grief, and Estudillo's encounter with a mourning chief retired from his village corroborates her statement. (Practices may have differed.)

> [I] continued eastward [from the Choinuk] and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa (Joasps). With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives . . .[1]

769 532 Effigy-making.---The first two days of the week of the mourning ceremony (Monday and Tuesday) are devoted to the construction of the effigy dolls (woi 'doš). These are made by women, one image for each person mourned. The basis of the doll was a cross of wood, the upright staff of which was about 5 feet long, the horizontal about 2-1/2 feet tied on about 18 inches from the top. "It must be high but not too heavy to carry when dancing" (J.P.). In old times the covering of the frame, making a sort of solid body, was of fine tule matting, more recently of calico. If the effigy was of a woman, a little basket cap was put on the head. Each image had quantities of beads hung about the neck, and especially made baskets with beads woven into them hung from the arms, back, and front. When finished, the effigies were placed in a specially constructed house at the assembly space and covered with blankets. While the mourners were thus engaged, the chief of the reciprocant tribe came and talked to them and they all wept in response. Here also were placed all the gifts and offerings for the final night of crying.

Huhuna Dance

769 On the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was given. This

[1] Ibid., 73.

769 would be on the third day if on the fourth there was to be a preliminary or informal contest between shamans, as was usual if the ceremony was a large and impressive one. Otherwise the Huhuna Dance was reserved for the fourth day and "nothing special" happened on the third other than the morning and evening singing and display of dolls and gifts. J.P. said that the Huhuna Dance might be given any day and repeated, from the very outset, if people wanted it, but certainly this was not the customary [541] practice. The Huhuna Dance could be performed at any time out of its ceremonial context and was a favorite method for both entertainment and money-making at any season of the year.

M.L. gave the following account; in so doing she particularly had in mind a performance at a mourning ceremony given by her father-in-law, Muṭoñi, at Diapnuša. A few interpolations are from J.P.

769 A Huhuna Dancer was not a shaman (añtu)
535 (although he might be) but had Owl (hutu·du)
[13] for a family totem. M.L. thought this "went in families but had to be dreamed about as well" [as being the family emblem]. She thought all tribes had the dance. Although it was a regular part of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, "it [541] could be done at any other time if a man wanted to make some money or other people wanted to see it." The shaman who entered at the end might be "any kind," provided he had the power of making airshot. M.L.'s stepfather, who took part in the dance at Diapnuša, was a Rattlesnake shaman. A Huhuna of any tribe could engage in the affair during the mourning ceremony, i.e., he was not necessarily of the reciprocant [gu'ui] tribe. But the killing shaman was always of the host or local tribe. The usual costume consisted of an ankle-length, [237] sleeveless dress of netting covered with eagle, crow, buzzard, and o'ow:ts [?] feathers. On the back were little sticks painted red and so strung together that they rattled as the wearer danced. A headdress of netting covered with owl feathers had two little peaks to resemble an owl's head. The eyes were not covered, al- [293] though J.P. and S.G. said that abalone shell discs were sewed over the eyes on a net which covered the face. On each wrist hung a swinging bunch of feathers (so·n:l). The man held an eagle bone whistle in his mouth, and in each hand carried a slender rod about eighteen inches long (fig. 8, c).

At this dance at Diapnuša two Yokod men were the Huhunata (pl.). They went off to opposite sides of the village to don their costumes. While they were gone, money provided by the local chief was hidden in various spots around the assembly space -- in a sack of acorns, in the crevice of a shade, or in the ground.

One or more singers accompanied the dancing performance.

[P. 128 9] Wukchumni

769 The Huhunata approached with mincing, half-
535 turning steps, trembling continuously, knocking their own two sticks together and whistling a high repeated note. They began to look for the money, pointing to it with their sticks, and a winatum disclosed it. Sometimes "even the winatum could not find it so they had to dig it out themselves." M.L. said she was frightened when they drew near her. All the money they found they kept in little skin sacks which hung over their shoulders.

After all the money had been found, a shaman (on this occasion, Sa'maka, a Wukchumni) entered dressed in full regalia. He sat down on the edge of the dance space. The chief gave him a tray (tai''iwan) and a winatum built a fire beside him. The shaman rose, swung his hand feather bunch (sonːl) over the fire, then held his tray up to the sun to get airshot. Then he exposed it to the audience so all could see the seedlike "bullets" adhering to it. The winatum took the tray to one of the Huhuna and "asked him if he wanted to die by it." The Huhuna replied "that it was not strong enough." So the shaman strengthened it, and on second inspection Huhuna was satisfied. When the tray was returned to the shaman, he banged it violently on the ground twice. Each time a Huhuna "fell over dead." Two winatums carried them to one side, and immediately the host spectators came dragging long strands of money
[152] which the winatums threw over the prostrate victims. Everyone present wept.

All the visiting Yokod sat down behind their men. Then a Yokod shaman entered, revived his two compatriots, and, making airshot at the fire, bowled over the Wukchumni shaman, who was in turn revived by a fellow shaman. The Huhunata received all the money thrown on them, but from this they had to pay their singers who had been singing for them throughout the performance. The local chief paid his own shamans for their part. J.P. said the affair lasted from about 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Shamans' Contest

756 The preliminary to the Shamans' Contest
789 was called gokosyu ñit. It was a more or less
769 spontaneous affair and, if held at all, preceded the real contest as a sort of trial. The entrants in this were said to be "warming up" for the big contest. "Any kind" of shaman might enter, but never Bear Dancers. In this little contest a single powerful shaman would sometimes take on two or three lesser ones. This trial also permitted novices to test their skill before entering the more dangerous fracas.

The Shamans' Contest (he'ẅaš) was held on the fifth day [Friday] of the week of the

Annual Mourning Ceremony.[280] The contestants were aligned by tribe (J.P., M.L., and J.B.); the two sides might be composed of shamans from different tribes (M.P., S.G., and Tm.W.). I am inclined to accept the first opinion which I think not only represents the correct theory but was practically possible in the days before the decline of population. As indicated by J.B.'s lists (see "Reciprocity" above), a single tribe could provide several shamans at once. According to J.B. and M.L. these tribal alignments were further regarded as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (see p. 98) and the opposing sides took up western and eastern positions on the assembly space.

Within the dance space a number of fires were built in a row, one for each entrant, of whom there might be four to eight. Each shaman had a coiled basketry tray (tai'iwan) which he held in the smoke of his fire, then raised aloft, face outward, in his right hand and shook toward the sun. The sun's power caused the magic missiles called airshot (tu'yoš), "which looked like a bug or something," to appear on the tray. S.G. said that the airshot looked like buckshot. The doctors held their hands up to the sun, from which the airshot came, made grabbing motions, and then rubbed their hands together, thereby making the shot invisible. Sometimes the doctors would test their shot before entering the contest by propelling it at trees and shooting off pine needles, for example. S.G. thought that shamans never assisted each other in the process of shot-making, and no other informant implied that they did. It was customary for winatums to ask for a show of airshot from a shaman before permitting him to proceed in the contest. Theoretically this was to protect an unskilled shaman from exposing himself recklessly to injury, but it seems possible that the audience was equally desirous of getting its money's worth and did not wish to be duped by unfit entrants; all entrants were paid.

The contestants were all dressed in the shaman's usual regalia: feather crowns and plumes, swirling skirts of eagle-down cord tipped with bluejay or flicker feathers, wrist bands of weasel skin, feather bunches hanging from wrists, elbows, and knees, garlands of eagle-down cord looped like bandoleers, and quail-crest ear plugs (fig. 8, d).

On the end opposite the fires sat a group of singers using clappers and singing for both sides. They too wore feather headdresses and perhaps other ornaments which, I understand, were not infrequently borrowed.

The audience sat under the surrounding shades. Although betting on the winners was

---

[280] M.P.'s statement that it occurred on the last day after the ritual washing is perhaps due to her recollections of aberrant Waksachi practice, as the Wukchumni were reciprocants on the occasion of Waksachi mourning ceremonies (cf. Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 129 a] Wukchumni

heavy, there were no shouts or urgings from the onlookers as there were at games: the spectators watched in sober silence.

The shamans assembled in two groups at opposite ends of the assembly space. With them were youths and boys carrying "long poles, pieces of brush, or anything they wanted to grab" (J.P.). When ready, the shamans in single file, followed by their winatums and by the youths waving the poles, advanced toward the center. A man on each side would cry "Hu·'u·'o·'o·'o·'" three times, and the audience would respond three times with "A·'a·'a·h!" During the contest, the youths kept up a continuous explosive grunting while parading and a sort of "Oh'! oh'! oh'!". The two lines of contestants passed around each other in two arcs and came to a halt facing each other about thirty feet apart. The shamans were ranged in a single row while their more exuberant young cohorts remained behind at a safe distance. When the chief ordered them to start, all the shamans raised their trays in the air, shook them and, whirling so that their backs were turned to their opponents, slammed their trays face downward on the ground. Each time this was done a shot flew from the tray at a rival, and this was repeated until the rival fell unconscious or the aggressor himself fell a victim. As the men dropped they were carried off to a shade by two winatums who were paid by the host group (unless the shaman had a personal winatum to aid him). This magic bombardment continued until only two shamans remained on their feet. This crisis always seems to have been attained. They fought a long time; the best man was believed to have the greatest supernatural gifts. Such men remained to the last because of their ability to pick the air-shot off themselves at the very instant it hit, whereas others were knocked down. The weasel-skin wristlets served as protectors of the vulnerable spot on the wrist; the weasels "swallowed" the shots. When one of this last pair finally fell, the victor staggered backward exhausted, and, assisted by winatums, reclined panting under a shade.

Now the host chief called his people together. His winatums collected money and gifts which were distributed to the chiefs of the tribes whose shamans had participated in the contest. Everyone present was crying. "They cried and cried right up to the middle of the night" (J.P.).

In the meantime the injured shamans were being revived. A host winatum went to the winner and asked him to remove the shot from his fallen rival. J.P. maintained that they got doctors who had not participated to revive the others, but M.L., S.G., and J.B. claimed that each shaman in turn revived those men who had been his victims. The revival was accomplished by the brushing method of curing. A shaman took a feather from his headdress or

756 used his hand feather bunch to brush down the
769 body of the patient. A winatum held a tray be-
789 side him upon which the doctor shook or squeezed off the granular airshot from the feathers. The shot was taken away and burned.

M.L. and S.G. said that all the shamans were paid by the spectators who had thrown down their strings of bead money on a tray provided by a winatum, while the contestants lay unconscious. From this sum the shamans paid their singers and, if they had them, their own personal winatums. They also paid a good share to their chief.

754 In discussing the revivings, J.P. said
756 that at this time "chiefs would bribe each other's doctors if they wanted to get rid of one that was knocked out." If any of the magic
769 ammunition was permitted to remain in a victim,
789 "he died in about three days," or at best would linger on for a month. This might be done then deliberately, or the victim might be left totally unconscious with the claim that he could not be brought to.[281]

Corpse-Handlers' Dance

769 On the morning of the sixth day (Saturday)
767 the group of people known as tonoč:m who handled corpses, supervised their burial, and sang the funereal songs, had a little ritual of their own; it was the finale of the daily ritual singing and weeping. J.B. described this performance as he had witnessed it at Hoganu, a Wukchumni village.

There were about six or seven tonoč:m, Telamni, Wukchumni, and Entimbich,[282] some of them men, some women [that any of them were berdaches he denied]. A few regular singers (hide´t:č) using cocoon rattles sat in the assembly space and sang while the tonoč:m approached in single file, the men leading. The men carried long poles in their right hands and had their faces painted black, whereas the women held both fists up before their shoulders, carried burden baskets on their backs, and wore wigs of long false human hair which trailed on the ground. The wig had no beak;[283] it was tied on with a band which passed around the forehead and the tumpline helped hold it in place. They danced past the visitors and lined up, while the active mourners lined up facing them with the payment for their services. As the tonoč:m danced and sang, along with the singer accompanists, the mourners threw the gifts, which were usually payment in kind rather than money, at

---

[281] The full implications of this malpractice have been discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[282] The inclusion of Entimbich is very dubious and probably an interpolation due to J.B.'s many years of association with Entimbich at Dunlap. Possibly he meant Waksachi, if any Western Mono tonoč:m were present.

[283] As Kroeber describes for the Tachi (Handbook, 500).

769 them, and these were grabbed by the women and thrown over their shoulders into the baskets. 767 When the dance ended the tonočim retired with their goods and then, giving a great shout, they all ran to the river to swim. (Although this ending suggests a cleansing rite, it is [783] purely a ceremonial gesture as all informants agreed that corpse-handlers were under no tabus nor were they considered unclean after they had performed a burial service.)

Effigy Parade

769 The remainder of the sixth day was spent in preparation for the evening. The reciprocants' winatums stacked wood for two extra-large fires, one at each end of the assembly space. The mourners had retired for constant weeping. When evening came, the reciprocant (gu'ui) tribe would sit near one fire; the non-participating members of the host or mourning tribe, by the other. Spectators from other tribes would be grouped at each side.

In the early evening the gu'ui's winatums called the active mourners and brought out the effigies and treasures for them to carry. Each doll was carried by a member of the same sex, usually the one nearest of kin to the deceased it represented. Other mourners carried money and gifts: men carried the shouldered treasure basket (osa) filled with money, while women carried basketry trays (koiyoto) laden with money, fine baskets, or valued ornaments. At about the hours of 9 p.m., 12 m., 2 a.m., and 4 a.m. these mourners, led by the group of singers, paraded around the fires with a curious halting step. On each alternate step the effigy-carriers held the staffs upright, on the others lowered them, pointing the doll heads toward the fire and making a feint at throwing them in. The others made the same feint with the treasures they carried. During the intervals between the parades the chief of the reciprocants rose to make a speech in which he referred to the deceased persons they were mourning and to the bereaved who had been enduring much sorrow and privation; he spoke of the effigies as if they were the actual corpses, saying how they were to be burned, destroyed, and forever forgotten, and how the mourners [152] might look forward to release from their grief. These simple topics were long drawn out to a continuous obligato of weeping from the mourners, who had again retired. At intervals the singers sang.

When it was time for the mourners to make the fourth and final circuit of the fires, a winatum told the reciprocants to line up by their fire. They did this while the mourners were parading about. The latter took up a position in line by their fire, the two groups being about fifty feet apart. Then at a signal from the managing winatum, the mourners threw

●769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare
783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large,
[285 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those
171] the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs.
[301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs,
[465 necklaces, and headbands were added. The
431] washers were each paid a small sum (about 25 cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 During the washing and dressing at least
613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning.
[237] They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs, with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of
[262] which was deer meat, for this was the end of the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

769 laugh, play, and have a good time. The afternoon was devoted to games and dancing (see section on "Games").

769 426 During the afternoon the host chief and his subchiefs (tuye'i) assembled to settle the payment of debts for food supplied either by visitors or by members of their own tribe. This type of debt was called hočao'ɨšna. Such a meeting would take place when the financing of any general tribal ceremony was necessary, not alone after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The chief made a set speech: "We must now pay off our debt" (soi'inad mai hočao'ɨšna mayɨn; lit., pay you debt our). To which the subchiefs answered: "We will dispose of our debt" (ama'mai du'haš hočao'ɨšna mayɨn; lit., we-will dispose-of debt our). Then the chief's winatum collected money from all, and the visiting chief's winatums accepted it for their chief who in turn distributed it among his own people. Any other persons who should be paid off at this time were given money by the host winatums. It not infrequently happened that chiefs, subchiefs, and members of the mourning tribe were completely insolvent after one of these affairs.

769 While daylight lasted the shamans of the host tribe danced, but in the evening, when fires illumined the assembly space, those of either the reciprocant or spectator tribes danced. This dancing was kept up all night or at least as long as the hosts were willing to pay for it to continue. No shaman danced and no singer sang for nothing on public occasions. The dance was the watiyod customarily given for entertainment at any time (see section on "Pleasure Dances").

The following morning another general breakfast was eaten and the visitors began leaving for home.

J.B.'s Account

769 756 789 J.B.'s account of the mourning ceremony was curtailed and confused. It is given merely because it differs in what may be some significant respects from the descriptions by other informants. He did not assign a definite order to the series of ceremonies, but stated that the Shamans' Contest took place every morning of the week of the affair.

The Shamans' Contest he called ku'kasyu'ñɨt, saying that to kill by means of fire [?] or poison [?] was called kuku'siyɨč. Two doctors and a singer (uda'kɨč) took part. The singer with his clapper came [to the dance space] first. Each shaman had a winatum who built a fire for him. Then the shamans themselves came and each made airshot at his fire. They tried to kill each other. One of the shamans would be from a visiting tribe, and the people who came with him, i.e., his chief, singer, winatum, were always paid for the spectacle. "Any

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money could have them go into this fight if they liked."

756 789 769 535 The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville, and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon toward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho'ṭ:s was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu'dṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokon:k, although J.B. had seen Ma'm:l, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

769 The last, or Saturday, night of the ceremony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana ñ:t. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief, mourning families, and others proceeded around [481] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi'dow:š) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and [198] beads for the visitors. The poles were carried in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the ritual was called ka'm:ts. This custom of [184] tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177 668 796 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was attributed by J.B. to Joi'joi, a Mono man, "a Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[284] "He went

[Text continues on p. 133]

[284] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

231 825 deer continually so the bird might be fed deer liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Maštinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about L:m:k [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 648 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki´'i), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

●769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni´ša); crying ritual (aha´na); washing ritual, either at

[P. 1369] Chukaimina

796 mourning or for mother (epla ʻoiša); Shamans' Contest (heša ʻoišaš); Rattlesnake Ritual (laiya ʻla); [rattlesnake, te ʻʻel]; shaman's pleasure dance (ka ʻmkxm).

P.M. had seen the Ghost Dance but Mo. had not.

769 Mo. claimed that the only mourning ceremonies she had witnessed were recent ones at

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 136 b] Chukaimina

769 Dunlap by the mixed Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, Chukaimina, Michahai, and some Choinimni.

796 Mo. said her father, Maka´na, participated in the Rattlesnake Ritual with Pušlɨlɨn. "They had little whistles to call the snakes." She never saw this; "all she knows is what P.M. told her."

[P. 151 a] Choinimni

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
787 plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ṭa ʻpni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

796 The participants waited six days before touching meat, then they had a little party (wi ʻte luni ʻša) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent [616] adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

752 The plant was used medicinally, especially for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

773 The mythological source of jimsonweed was not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

● 769 Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luni ʻša) lasted for a six-day week called ču ʻlipi laka ʻn. The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W., 535. differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

[P. 151b] Choinimni

[783] Ceremonial washing was done on
769 the morning of the sixth day. In the Huhuna Dance
535 in the afternoon, after which the usual games and pleasure dances were indulged in. This arrangement may be quite correct, for the Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning" significance and is nothing more than a display. While it is unusual to have display dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the first days, the program for these days was somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was
769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as
616 "washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters and shades. The winatums of the host tribe got wood and water for the visitors. Every morning and evening just before sunrise and sunset a group of singers went outside of the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed. The relatives of the deceased and any others dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers clapped their hands, the performance ceased. Some of the visitors played games during the day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers, whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest
756 (hə ẑwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s incoherent description can be followed, the contest
789 was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took place in the early afternoon. There were four doctors on each side, of whom Pušlːlːn and Kaplːlːn are the only ones remembered. In making their "airshot" (toiyəš) they used no fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying to] the sun was involved. As they made their seizing gestures from the sun toward their basketry trays on which the shot appeared, they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "hˣ! hˣ! hˣ!" The airshot "looked just like white fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet." The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kaplːlːn.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was called aha ́na. The mourning relatives, who had been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the night, carrying with them the images or "dolls" (ta ́wːts nao ẑa, dead made-like), which were not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

[Lic. of the mourning ceremony. —Analyst]

769 they were really aboriginal because he "couldn't figure out what they were made of before we got clothes -- the real old-timers had nothing but skin." While the mourners were parading about, the chief made a speech, which P.D.W. would not attempt to paraphrase. Then the images were burned or given away, but the informant was unable to say to whom or why.

769 On the following morning, the sixth day,
783 the ritual washing (ʻpla ʻo ʻiša) was performed. The system of reciprocal washing was like that of the Chunut: the reciprocant was another tribe whose Tokelyuwich members washed the Nutuwich of the mourning or host tribe, and the visiting Nutuwich washed the local Tokelyuwich. P.D.W. thought the actual washing was done only by the chief of the "washing" moiety, assisted by his male and female winatums, which again is like valley practice. They dressed up the cleansed mourners in new breechclouts, aprons, ornaments. The old garments were burned. Payment was made to the washers in money or articles of use -- again, P.D.W. said, "because there were no clothes in the old days." [Bolts of calico, blue jeans, etc., are the usual return gifts in modern times.] The chief made a speech and told everybody to be happy, especially those who had been mourning.

769 Then Huhuna danced. This was done by
535 La ʻhaiya, whose costume consisted of a feather
184 wreath (sema) on the head, and a "sack" covered with feathers. The face and eyes were not covered. He held a bone whistle (pusač) in his mouth, but carried no cane. He danced with the "shimmy" step, as did other Huhuna dancers, and found hidden money. There were no singers or any sort of accompanist with him. Nor was he "killed" by a doctor. P.D.W. stoutly insisted on this, and reverted to the Shamans' Contest when I persisted with inquiries on the point. It seems clear that this Huhuna performance was aberrant in both costume and execution, which probably explains its position in the mourning ceremony as a pure display for entertainment <u>after</u> the washing ritual.

<u>Guksai</u>.--This informant had never heard the word gu ʻksai, or any variation of it; nor did he recognize any ceremonial figure which might be identified as guksai: "Huhuna was the only one."

796 <u>Bear Dance</u>.--As described by P.D.W. this
535 dance is like the form reported from the Lake tribes, and does not resemble that of the Wukchumni or Western Mono. A man named Ko ʻwo, a Chukaimina at Squaw Valley, made this: people went over there to see him, as did P.D.W., or he visited around at Kings River villages and gave a performance. He had Bear as a dream helper; he danced "in the spring because Bear
796 was going to come out." Most positively,
535 P.D.W. asserted that the dance was never done in the fall of the year and that, if requested,
424 it could be performed at a mourning ceremony. He did not learn or inherit the dance from

[P. 190 a] Kechayi

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.---The term for sickness in general was toi·yoti·yaš he·ba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Sai·hu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Cokoni·k sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 Consumption, sane·naš, was due to "not
755 growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.
753

769 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her
755 dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, Wewu·ki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was t·pni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 E.M.'s brother, Hai'ai'·č, had power from
157 Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spec-
273 tacular use of it.

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limːn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

●769 The chief set the date for this ceremony
[624] (luni ˇša) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (giˑˈi) which, for the Kechayi, was always the
[616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were giˑˈi for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (taˊowːč anoˇša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Guguˊsia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character (Gugusia) was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled
769 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čukuˊya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
769 could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe´biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya´hixo) was
769 performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate´ič) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

Washing ritual.--This duty (epla´oša) was
769 reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the
783 visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were
769 lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
668 participation in the Ghost Dance has been published in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance;
[177] abbreviatedly called su´yu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo´´oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

---

[75]Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Posgisa were gi´´i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76]Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

769 753 775 Many people feared to approach a graveyard, especially at night, for they said they could see people moving around there, although they did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 302 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

[P. 199 C] Chukchansi

231 Pets.---Bear cubs were not raised by anyone, said J.R. Young eagles were captured in their nests before they could fly. The birds were fed and reared, and were eventually used in the redemption or weeping ceremony.

A man who had a bear for a pet [a living animal or a tutelary "pet" ?] was heard of by M.W., but he had never seen him. He was told that, "if you said 'Bear' to that man, he would always holler." M.W. thought this was due to dreaming.

MOURNING CEREMONY

769 184 The accounts of the three informants differ so much that it does not seem wise to combine them to make a single picture of the Mourning Ceremony. Summarizing comments will be made at the end of this section.

769 A terminal mourning ceremony was held a year after a person's death, said M.W. This rite was sponsored by the deceased's relatives. Should there be no actual relatives, probably a very rare situation, there would be no ceremony. On the other hand, a person who dwelled with or had been cared for by an unrelated family would be mourned by that family. If the deceased were an extremely old person, and none of his age mates or parents (sic) were living, the burning of gifts, and even the fire, would be omitted.

The ceremony lasted six days. On the morning of the sixth day, about 2 to 4 a.m., offerings [of baskets and other valuables] were

769 burned. Then the active mourners, but not others, had the charcoal washed off their faces with a solution of wormwood. Thereafter they did not think of the dead or cry again. Games and dancing were enjoyed that day; everyone was happy.

[767] Only people whose relatives had died a year or more ago, attended a mourning ceremony, said M.N., herself a professional mourner. A death was not so noticed until a full year had passed; moreover, each death was individually celebrated even when several deaths occurred within the same family. Deaths occurring even within a week of each other were individually recognized. Hence the mourning ceremonies took [184] place at various times throughout the year, as opposed to the annual group ceremony made by Yokuts to the south.

At the ceremony, only the relatives of the deceased participated in the marching "dance," although everyone present wept. Two men would sing. The mourners, carrying baskets aloft, marched twice around a central fire, then cast them in. "This is like giving them to that dead person."

[622] The chief of the mourning family's community decided the time for this ceremony "whether they wanted it or not." About one year after a death the chief would say that it was time to have the Mourning Ceremony, said J.R. Everyone came to see the affair, but a widow had to stay close to her own house until the final crying was over. When the people came, they cried for perhaps one night. After that, everyone was permitted to have a good time. This normal freedom was enjoyed until there was another death in the community. When this occurred, all citizens were expected to maintain a decorous mien, to refrain from participation in singing and dancing until the chief declared it time -- several months later -- to hold the Mourning Ceremony. [Such a [184] general proscription was not enforced or, apparently, expected in any Yokuts or Mono group to the south. The Chukchansi communities were [621] small and closely knit by blood, which may explain this general tabu. -- A.H.G.]

The captains (chiefs) would plan the big time, supply the food, and have their people cook it. They had three chiefs here, at one time; two were brothers. Sloknič and his brother, and Dawil, of Picayune, apparently. These three would discuss the coming affair: "They planned that it should be well done, what people outside the tribe to invite. They would send a man down to Picayune to invite them to come."

When a large assemblage was to be fed, as at the Mourning Ceremony, it was necessary to plan for and provide in advance great quantities of food. To do this the host chief would call a meeting to discuss it: he would have a big supper at that time. After the supper the chief addressed the assembled people. He would

769 say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

[787] Then he told them, talked a little while, not very long. Then he explained about the deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man (an official messenger ?) would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited. J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the coming celebration to the tribe which was to participate as "washer," the messenger did not take any gifts: "He just tells them they have [431] so many days to come up here." J.R. further stated that the visitors did not bring any gifts to the host: "They just come and eat what the captain has ready for them." They do bring money, baskets, and other valuables with them, but these are for personal use, for paying gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they [184 should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the 426] extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

[276] Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.[131]

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.[132]

---

[131] P. 387.

[132] Ibid., 385.

[P. 201 9] Chukchansi

769 783 The Chukchansi at Picayune were the ceremonial washers of the Chukchansi at Aplau. J.R. described the washing.

"The people who live right there, maybe a bunch from Picayune, come up. They heat water in a basket with hot rocks. Those people from Picayune wash the people who live right here (the mourning hosts) with this warm water. The people here give (in return) maybe half of the deer meat, and acorn meal to go with it, which their women have pounded up."

When the Picayune Indians get through washing the mourners, they all go back to their sleeping camps. The host captain, who lives here, goes back after being washed and sits down. He calls all the (his ?) people around. He says that now they are washed (ritually cleansed) and they can enjoy themselves. There was no definite plan of entertainment. If they [526] felt like singing, they sang. Various games were played, a footrace was run, and so on. "They play anything they want."

769 527 They would play for a week, in the old times, said J.R. They ate the food that was ready. They had some acorn meal already pounded and cooked; they cooked more as needed. Some of this was given to the visitors. When they had enjoyed themselves for perhaps two days, possibly longer (they usually stayed a week), everybody went home. They just had fun. Played games. Danced. It was just to have fun. They just got together for that. The old fellows stayed near the fire (outdoors or in a sweat house ?). The young girls got out to sing, dance, holler, have fun. The boys played together too. The young people all ran around, jumping, dancing, boys and girls together. "After it is all over, it is finished. No one says anything more about it."

769 535 Dancing was the chief form of entertainment, however. Every night there would be dancing, only a little during the day. A doctor, if he knew how, would dance -- not because he was a shaman, but because he was a dancer. There would be three or four good dancers from Picayune, three or four from Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi, etc.), the same from Mariposa (Miwok). The captain of the community would tell certain persons to dance to entertain his visitors. Then a visiting captain would have his men perform. And so on: "when one bunch quits, another will start."

769 625 During all this time there were Indian "police" or managers on duty, who functioned only at this time. They went around with the captains to preserve order. They exhorted people to behave peacefully, to be good. They were called kut'eu.

769 No understanding of Chukchansi mourning rites is complete without perusal of an eyewitness account by Stephen Powers.[133] Kroeber's description of the ceremony should also be ex-

[133] Ibid., 384-391.

769 amined in this connection, as it contains more detail than is presented here.[134] Both Powers' and Kroeber's records are too lengthy to permit reprinting; neither contradicts any of Miss Thrall's material, given above. However, it may be noted that while Kroeber says "the use of effigies ... appears not to be participated in by ... the Chukchansi ...," Powers specifically states that "another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomushim."[135]

769 Besides the usual display of basket, beads,
293 and feather finery at the ceremony Powers witnessed, there was exhibited an elaborate plume.

"But the most remarkable article was a great plume, nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons -- a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume..."[136]

No such lavish ornament was described to me as part of the ceremonial paraphernalia of other Yokuts groups, yet presumably such were
[171] made and carried at mourning ceremonies in aboriginal times, for a comparable plume is reported from the Tübatulabal.[137]

GAMES AND DANCING

Games

526 Football---This was played between two goal posts. Two men from opposing sides each placed a foot on the ball. Then each tried to kick it toward his own team of three or four men who attempted to take [kick ?] it to the opposite goal.[138]

Hoop and pole---This was especially a young woman's game. There were four or five on a side who attempted to hurl a hoop toward a goal by means of sticks.

525 Hand game---This was played by both sexes, mixed or separate. Two pairs of cougar bones were used, one of each pair being marked with a black band. The plain bone was guessed for. Four people played in opposed pairs, each of the two having a pair of bones. The holders

---

[134] Kroeber, Handbook, 501.

[135] Ibid.; Powers, 388.

[136] Powers, 388.

[137] Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 70.

[138] Of the games recorded by Thrall only football and shell dice are omitted by Kroeber when referring to Chukchansi (Handbook, 539-540). -- A.H.G.

[P. 2366] Western Mono NS25

W Y 561 192

moa ʻbi hu ʻu ʻpi na ʻnop: girl twelve to twenty years old
moa ʻbi ti ʻkinana: young man twenty to forty years old
hu ʻu ʻpi ʻtu ʻamoge: young woman having borne children
moa ʻbi na ʻnany·ep: man forty to sixty years old
moa ʻbi nana ʻpi ʻep: woman forty to sixty years old
moa ʻbi moa ʻbh·l·ep: old man
moa ʻbi hube ʻči ʻep: old woman

W Y 763 764

Death

When a person was seen to be dying, people gathered about and old women began weeping. A winatum or possibly "just any person" would notify relatives in other villages to come as soon as possible. All the mourners remained near the corpse, weeping throughout the night. Meanwhile, the dead person was washed, dressed in his best clothing, and wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Then the body was flexed, knees to chin, wrapped in deerskin, and tied with sa' cord. In the meantime, grave-diggers (lu ʻkoluč, Michahai) were excavating a pit with sharpened sticks (a ʻči) and baskets. They did not fear to step into the grave. This service was not paid for.

Cremation.---The informant (S.O.) had never seen cremation, but knew that it was practiced just before his time. He thought that all the "people up this way" (Chukaimina, Michahai, Entimbich, Wobonuch) used cremation before white influence was felt.

At the time of death a winatum was told to get a great amount of dry wood. (S.O. did not know how the wood was arranged.) Early the following morning the corpse was placed on the pyre and burned. Possessions were burned at this time, but after the change to interment they were reserved for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. After the fire had cooled, the bones were collected and placed in water.

W Y [769]

S.O. believed that, when cremation was practiced, the bereaved immediately forgot their loss. He thinks that the Annual Mourning Ceremony has been adopted to counteract the sorrow that lingers when the deceased are buried.

W Y [192]

In connection with this S.O. gave the following phrases: tu ʻlšu mai (burn person, cremation); luku ʻlšu mai (bury person, interment); mai tao ʻi ʻči (person dead); pučo ʻn tao ʻi ʻči (man dead); muti ʻhoi tao ʻi ʻči (woman dead).

W Y 764 767

Burial.---According to S.O., these same men, or sometimes women, carried the corpse to the grave: a man carried a man, a woman a woman. When doing this, they were called šo ʻnoluč (tawa ʻtsa šonoluč, dead to carry). They were paid for this as a separate service. The corpse was removed from the house by the normal entrance.

W Y 769

"Little Mourning Ceremony".---This rite (wi´či luni´ša) marked the cessation of mourning. When a mourner felt that he had observed the full restrictions sufficiently long, he told his chief that he wished to end them. The chief usually agreed, merely asking the mourner if he had funds for the expenses entailed. A day was set for the ritual, usually six days ahead, and the chief's winatum was sent to notify the persons who should come to do the ritual washing. The washer(s) was always a certain person, for the function was reciprocal between certain families of differing tribes.[177] The concept is one met before in connection with the Wukchumni, but oddly S.O. did not recognize the term gu´´i, used by them (and by B.O.), saying he "had never heard the word." How this reciprocal relationship came to be established he was unable to say: it had always been so. Both B.O. and S.O. mentioned the Wukchumni as properly reciprocal to the Waksachi, and said that the Entimbich also functioned in this capacity for both Michahai and Waksachi.

W Y 769 624 783

When the winatum arrived at the village of the washers, he went directly to the chief, who took his cane (carried only when announcing a mourning ritual) and gave him food. The message was then given to the chief, who in turn sent his own winatum to get the persons wanted [washers]. The washers and their companions decided upon what day they would start for the ritual. When the winatum was ready to depart, the chief paid him a small sum (roughly the equivalent of 50 to 75 cents) and gave him some little seed cakes and other tidbits of food to take home (for himself). The winatum also received back his cane which the chief had taken from him, but in so doing, he paid the chief a trifle (about 25 cents). Then he left and, when he reached home, he reported to his chief "and told the people to get ready."

W Y 769

When the washers came, they were accompanied by their chief, a winatum, and any members of their family or friends who cared to come. This group was encamped in shelters erected for them and fed throughout the entire visit. Professional singers (ahe´nač) secured by the local chief came to the fire in the assembly space in the early morning and sang mourning songs. They used no accompaniment. There might be two to four of these, and eventually they received pay.

During the day the local chief would give a speech, saying why people were assembled, that So-and-So had been mourning for a dead person, but that his mourning was now to cease. The bereaved person cried in response, and often some of his family too. These mourners then walked over to pay the singers; men went

[783] [571]

---

[177] S.O. offered as an example his nephew ("Tom Tynor and all his family"), who always has a Wukchumni of Falcon lineage to wash him [sic] when mourning. The Wukchumni was always [?] To´pino (Jim Britches).

1; Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS22 Yokuts NS29
[P. 238 b] Western Mono NS25

first giving them money, the women followed giving acorn meal or berries. The singers had large baskets with them to receive these things.

Then the mourners "sang loud and danced around in a circle. Some had effigy dolls at this little fandango." These, and any remaining possessions of the deceased, were thrown on the fire. They were not given to the washers (as at the "big" ceremony).

Next morning, just after sunrise, the washer or washers took baskets of hot water and washed the mourners "all over" and put new clothes on them. They also presented them with meat, which the winatums took to prepare for a general feast. There was no dancing or other festivity at this time. At the end, the mourners, assisted by a contribution from the chief, gave a sum of money to the washers and their companions. The visiting chief "got about three or four times as much money as the others."

Usually a little mourning ceremony of this kind lasted but one day and night, but its length differed with the wealth or the desire for display of the bereaved. Sometimes the affair would last four or five days, i.e., the burning and washing were postponed while the singers sang each morning. (Meanwhile the guests had to be fed and the singers must be paid that much more.) If it was thought that there would not be a "big" tribal ceremony during the forthcoming year, the "little" one was made more elaborate.

There was no money exchange for interest (lakana´nič) connected with the smaller ritual, save as the mourners might have to borrow money privately to meet the expense.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Training and Practice

The acquisition and uses of supernatural power were so well understood by S.O. that he could readily formulate the following statements. There are some interpolations from B.O. and D. I think it is safe to assume that S.O.'s account can serve for the culture of all the Central Foothill tribes: it enlarges, but in no way contradicts, the statements of less knowledgeable and intelligent informants. S.O. made it clear, as had others, that the distinction between a common person with a little privately used power and the professional public shaman was one of quantity of power. The procedure for acquiring power was the same for all: the ambitious person continued his efforts and strove for dreams of more and stronger supernatural helpers (e.g., Cougar, Eagle, Coyote, Owl) than the person who was content with one or two dreams of lesser helpers (e.g., Blackbird, Night, Fox). This, of course, did not apply to women who might and did acquire "private" power but never became professional

pebbles," but the killing shot (toi´uš) was invisible. The shot was made at the fire, which in some manner drew power from the sun. The shamans sprinkled eagle or falcon down on the fire and something called ai´'ap, which "looked like salt." They made seizing motions over the fire with their hands and slapped them on their basketry trays where the pebblelike shot appeared. While doing all this, they addressed the sun prayerfully.

Any shaman who thought he had sufficient supernatural strength was free to enter. They chose their own side of battle; no chief told them. (However, with shamans' cliques and chiefly sponsorship of shamans there was undoubtedly prearrangement, at least among the shamans, in some contests.)

When the contest was to start, the opposing shamans stood opposite each other some thirty feet apart. Each had an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth which he blew constantly and he held his tray loaded with airshot in his hands. At a shout from a winatum the shamans slapped their trays on the ground to propel the shot at their opponents. They might do this two or three times before a hit was made. When a victim fell unconscious, he was carried aside by winatums. As usual, the surviving shaman had to go around extracting shots from the fallen. If these were let remain, "a sickness would grow from them" even if the doctor regained normal consciousness. The method of recovery, as described by S.O., was rubbing the victim with hands cupped, not by sucking. If a shaman seemed to have lingering ill effects after the contest, his chief sent his winatum to summon the shaman believed responsible: the shaman had to remove the cause and was not paid for this second effort.[195]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

Villages the size of Čitatu or Tušao would have a large mourning ceremony (unarano´gan, Waksachi) about every two years. Normally there were not a sufficient number of deaths to warrant one every year; that is, the expenses were too great for just one family, say, to support. Money, baskets, and other gifts of value, and great quantities of food stuffs had to be accumulated in advance. The lending of money for interest in this connection was known to both Waksachi and Michahai and called by the Yokuts term, lak:na´n:č, but it is doubtful that the custom was practiced here; certainly it was not established.[196]

[195] In spite of this obligation the Shamans' Contest was a vehicle for intrigue if conniving chiefs and shamans cared to make it so (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans).

[196] That is, money-lending, which was a normal part of everyday life, was not integrated with the mourning ceremony.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP 2509 Western Mono NS 25

W
Y
769

The chief's consent was necessary, yet if all the village seemed to want a ceremony held there that year, he could not veto it. The chief's main concern was with available finances: the mourning family should be able to cover the expenses, which were considerable. If, at the time of the event, it proved that they had not, he and his subchiefs (tuyeyi) had to make up the deficit. However, when the families involved had made satisfactory arrangements with the chief, he sent his winatum to the tribes to be invited to announce it for twelve days hence.

The procedure at this point differed slightly from that when a small or "private" ceremony was being announced. As usual, the messenger went directly to the chief, was fed, and told the chief his news. Then the chief sent his winatum to call all the villagers, men and women, to the assembly space. Here the visiting messenger made his announcement publicly, saying that his chief was "making" a mourning ceremony twelve days hence at his village and that they all were invited. When he finished, everyone contributed a little money to pay him, which was collected and presented to him by the local winatum. According to S.O., the chief, now invited, could tell anyone who came to the village meanwhile of the coming ceremony and they might attend it if they wished. The Wukchumni, as the official washers, were always in the majority as visitors, the other most numerous attendants were Michahai and Chukaimina from Squaw Valley and Entimbich from Dunlap. B.O. added that Wukchumni and Entimbich came as washers. This was true of a ceremony given "by his father and some other men," and of the recent aberrant one described below.

W
Y
767
783
574

W
769
574

The visitors arrived as they pleased during the week of celebration: the very old and very young usually did not come. They brought only blankets, as the host group provided all food, shelter, firewood, and water. The local winatum (natinab)[197] secured the wood and water, and the women of their families did the cooking. They told the people when to eat. Those persons who were going to do the washing, however, brought the necessary clothing, paraphernalia, and deer meat.

W
Y
769
524

No restriction was placed on dancing, gambling, and gaiety during the week. The most popular games were pitching poles (aikaš), hoop and pole (ho'otuš), the woman's dice game (huču ´šiko) and, at night only, the hand game (henao ´šiko).

W
Y
769
184

Lacking here were the Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest as part of the ritual series, although both spectacles were well known. The Shamans' Content was sometimes performed at

[197] At this time B.O. used the Wakasachi term tu´buhiñanuwidi for the natinab, for which I could get no translation or explanation. He said they were the same natinab as usual; that "Dove was their ibuk."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 250b Western Mono VS 25
W
Y
769
184

Tušao, but never at Čitatu; the Chukaimina and Entimbich "had this dance on Sunday night" (B.O.). That is, these spectacles, if presented at all, followed the washing and served as part of the postritual celebration: they were not an integral part of the mourning ceremony but an irregular addition.

W
Y
769
[533
767]

During the six days of the ceremonial week the mourning families gathered morning and evening at the assembly fire to weep. Two or three paid singer-weepers, secured and paid by the host group, performed at the same time. They were not berdaches; they were called ya´kohovi´e´roti, (Waksachi). One well-known singer was named Šie´mil:t. Also during the week the women of the mourning families made the effigy dolls (woi´loša, Michahai; u´narira´gaikan, Waksachi).

On the sixth [Saturday] evening after supper the local chief called together the families who had instigated the ceremony and collected money from them, which was to be given to the visitors. If the sum was deficient, and apparently it usually was, a few men called tuye´´i [Yokuts word], previously selected by the chief, made up the deficit.

"Then everyone cried all night." The visiting chief told his winatum to make a fire, at which his people gathered. The host or mourning group, headed by their chief, were already at their own fire, where they wept continually. The visiting chief made a speech, exhorting the mourners to grieve no more, saying that this ceremony was being made to end their sorrow, and so on. Twice during the night, at approximately 10 p.m. and 1 a.m., the mourning group left their own fire to make a circuit of the other. These people were not dressed in any special way, rather they exhibited the dishevelment of mourning. Led by the chief, the men went first, carrying dolls representing deceased male relatives, and then the women with female dolls. The sex of the effigy was indicated by its clothing. Other members of the group carried clothes, beads, and baskets, "for the dead"; these would later be thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. Two circuits of the fire were made, then came a rest period during which the visiting chief again harangued the assemblage. On the next parade around the fire (1 a.m.) one circuit was made and then, according to individual choice, the dolls and valuable paraphernalia were either thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. S.O. said, "Everyone does what he pleases but most gave away." He also mentioned a difference in the practice of giving: the visitors were made to line up, whereupon the Wukchumni practice was to throw the gifts toward the recipients who seized what they could, whereas the Waksachi practice was to call over each person to receive his present. At this time the baskets of money for the visitors were given to their chief, who distributed it.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 251 9 Western Mono VS25

W
Y
769
783

The following [Sunday] morning a breakfast, prepared by the visiting winatums, was provided, of which all would partake eventually. Meanwhile the visiting chief announced that it was time for the washing. The persons selected as washers from his group came forward with baskets of water, new clothes, and any finery or gift of money they might choose to add. The mourners were called, i.e., the actual mourners, and were washed individually. Each individual was washed by a person of the same sex, and, according to S.O., invariably by one having the same totem animal. Thus chiefs washed chiefs. The hair was also washed and trimmed and the new clothes put on. The washing baskets and any other gifts were given to the now released mourners.

Then all the other people in the host tribe were lined up and each had his or her hair washed by some visitor. Then all went to eat breakfast, which was literally a breaking of the meat fast for the mourners. The visiting chief made a speech saying that now everything unhappy was forgotten, it was all in the past, that now everybody was to eat and have a good time.

What with the washing and feasting the day was well advanced. Games were played until nightfall, when shamans would be paid to dance for entertainment. They received frequent contributions as stimulation to continue. "Any girl that knew how would dance with them"(B.O.).

Recent Mourning Ceremony

W
Y
769
[607]

The two informants B.O. and S.O. were not related by blood but were brothers-in-law, S.O.'s sister, Huna´nčai (Sally) having married B.O. Sally died about 1922. After some two years B.O. proposed to S.O. that they have a mourning ceremony. Both men were mourners, but in opposing relationship, i.e., affinal and consanguineal, to the deceased. The account of this was given by S.O.

W
Y
[783]

B.O. went to S.O. to suggest the ceremony; they talked over plans and "agreed to wash each other because the right people weren't living." B.O. told S.O. "not to get him any new clothes because he [S.O.] was too poor." B.O., however, got a new shirt and pants for S.O. Crawford and Mel Osborn, grandson and son respectively of B.O., acted as winatums. S.O. said he "should have done this [his father was a winatum] but could not because of his blindness." Another winatum, Buffalo Bill, came with visitors from Dunlap. Also from Dunlap came two singers, Samson Dick and his sister Nellie.

The scene of the ceremony was B.O.'s house. He provided all the food for the entire week, killing a steer for the purpose. No attempt was made to have any Huhuna Dance or Shaman's Contest.

Every morning the two singers would go out in the yard before sunrise and sing. When they

W
Y
769

returned, all ate breakfast. This was repeated again before sundown. During these days S.O. and B.O. remained quietly indoors, S.O. frequently talking in consoling terms to B.O., telling him that this was the end of our sorrow."

On the sixth [Saturday] night they had the "cry dance." For this B.O. had a doll made of crossed sticks covered with a little blanket; to it was fastened a tiny basket and bead belt to denote its sex. All those present were divided into two groups who represented the mourners and the visitors or gu'i, i.e., the reciprocal "washers." The reciprocating tribe for the Waksachi was normally the Wukchumni, but none of these people came, though invited, owing to a quarrel between the Pohots and Tillie Wilcox over a piece of land. [Even in 1927 S.O. still regretted their absence, shaking his head and saying "they should have been there."] The mourning group remained in the house. These were: B.O., S.O., Jim Wilcox, Tillie Wilcox, Joe Wilcox, Dinky, Mary Sanwaihat, and Claude Osborn. The visitors outside were: Claude's wife Minnie (the eldest Wilcox daughter), Samson Dick, his sister Nellie, his wife Kohoi nik, and his daughter Maggie, and two genealogically unidentified people, Lucia and Ed Hunter. The winatum from Dunlap, Buffalo Bill, built a fire outdoors near which the visitors sat. Twice during the night the mourning group emerged and circuited the fire. On the second trip an impasse arose over the disposal of the doll "because the right people weren't there to give it to." Finally B.O. "gave Jim [Wilcox] a dollar to burn the doll up and talk to it."[198] Jim put the doll on the fire and said, "Now all is over. We have made this dance for you. Now I put you on the fire and I will never remember you any more." Then the mourners returned to the house, while those outside began to prepare their breakfast, for it was nearly morning.

W
Y
769
783

Then Tillie and Dinkey [mourners] "got a basket full of water for S.O. and washed B.O. for him" [because of S.O.'s blindness]. But S.O. stood by and did the appropriate talking, telling B.O. "that he could do as he pleased from now on" [lay aside all mourning restraint]. Then B.O. went to S.O. "with a little basket of water and the new shirt and trousers." He washed S.O. and spoke to him in the same terms. Then he gave S.O. the clothes, basket, and $5.00. Then, "since there was no real gu'i there, B.O. had to wash all those who had stayed in the house with him during the night. He gave them each a dollar or two."

Thereupon the mourning group put together a sum of money to give to the visitors. The winatum, Buffalo Bill, was called to take the money to his group and divide it up. "And this was the last of that fandango."

W
Y
556

The most important fact to come from this description was this: that this "self-washing"

[198] This is an instance of the peculiar regulations of paying. If the "right people," i.e., the Wukchumni reciprocators, had been there it would have been given to them to burn; as it was, the service had to be paid for. Why someone from the visiting group was not selected for this duty or the subsequent washing I could never discover.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 252.] Western Mono

W Y 769 783 556

within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

W Y 668 796 [177]

The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka´man soi´wiš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W Y [177]

The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

W Y [624 574]

The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

---

[199] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

765 came to him, would buy himself free with a larger amount. Among all the Yokuts, parents and spouses were subject to this fast, and sons, daughters, and grandparents exempt; some tribes extended the practice also to brothers, sisters, or near relatives by marriage.

[171] Burning the hair short in mourning is a practice which the Yokuts share with all Californian and many other American peoples. As is also usual, men sacrificed less of this adornment than women. The central Californian custom which required a wife to pitch her face and not remove same for a year or until the next annual mourning ceremony, has been reported only from the Chukchansi. The Yaudanchi mourners merely refrained from washing or scraping their face during the briefer period in which they ate no meat.

764 The body of the dead was not only bewailed but sung over and danced for by the bereaved and the professional mourners or *tongochim*. After each song the latter clapped their hands and the relatives, still standing up, resumed their crying.

The Tachi held a more elaborate ceremony, known as *tonochmin hatim*, "Tonochims' dance," on the occasion of the first gathering

[293] after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called *yakeyaknan*, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

769 Toward the end of summer an annual public mourning ceremony was held, called *lakinan*, *lakinanit*, or *tawadjnawash*. This undoubtedly had the greatest hold on the minds of the Yokuts of any of their rituals. It continued for several nights on lines similar to the crying, dancing, and singing over the unburied dead, the *tongochim* taking the same part. The last night ended in a spectacular climax with a destruction of property in honor of the departed, plus special features that varied from tribe to tribe.

Among the Yaudanchi, the mourners, who have been indoors or under a shade while the *tongochim* have been dancing, notify the lat-

[532] ter, through the official herald, of their coming. They then approach carrying frames or figures dressed to represent the dead. Standing inside the circle of singing *tongochim*, they sway the images as if to thrust them into the fire that burns in the middle. At the end of each song the *tongochim* clap and the mourners burst into wails. After daybreak the figures are finally burned, and beads, baskets,

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

and other property are tossed to the *tongochim*, who though already liberally paid, are entitled to keep all that they secure in the scramble. Other valuables are burned with the images.

The use of effigies is of interest because duplicated among many remote groups, but appears not to be participated in by such Yokuts tribes as the Chukchansi or Tachi. Among the latter, after dancing until morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying.

Among the Chukchansi the ritual of the final night takes on many features of the corresponding practices of the neighboring Miwok, whose *yalaka* ceremony they identify with their own *lakinan*. There are two fires, one for the men, the other for the women. The chief is posted at the latter, whence he delivers loud orations, in a peculiar abrupt enunciation. Such "preaching," as the Indians now term it, is indulged in on ceremonial occasions also by the Pomo, the Patwin, the Maidu, the Mohave, the Luiseño, and no doubt most other tribes in the State. Around each fire dancing goes on in a contraclockwise circle, the men holding poles from which hang valuables, the women baskets, and the singers standing outside the circles. Once during the night, and again toward morning, the men and women change to each others' fires. Finally the displayed property is burned in the men's fire. This act is called *tulo* or *yuyahin*, and marks the end of the ceremony. After this the visitors are paid by the residents of the town for purifying them by washing them with water in which a scented plant, *mechini*, has been steeped.

A joyous aftermath during the ensuing day marks the definite cessation of mourning. This is the *ka'm* or *wotii*, meaning simply dance. The step of this, indeed, is the same as that practiced by the *tongochim* during the preceding funerary ritual, and in fact over the unburied dead. It consists of an alternate high lifting of each leg at intervals of a second or less and stamping it down with violence, the performers meanwhile standing still or traveling in a circle. On this occasion of pleasurable reaction the dancers are for the first time painted—the men black, the women red, among the Yaudanchi—and they wear, so far as they possess them, the most elaborate and distinctive of Yokuts regalia: high crowns of crow and long magpie feathers, and skirts of strings of eagle down. Among the Chukchansi the men line up in a row, the women behind them, both facing north. Man after man then pays a woman for taking her from her place, and the couple dance before the double row.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 go horseback. He go up Los Baños Creek to hills. He go up river 'bout fifteen miles. There's no Indian anywhere. He go cross Fish Slough to California Ranch and see some Indian spear salmon in San Joaquin River. He talk to them Indian. They talk almost like his old mother and father. He understand everything they say. He tell them everything. He talk to my father. My father say, 'You come to our rancheria, live with us.' He live with us 'til he was old man, 'bout eighty-five maybe ninety years old. He die 'bout three days after first train go across railroad bridge on San Joaquin River. We all go down see that first train go across that bridge. When Sopahno see that he say, 'Now, I see everything. Now I'm gonna die.' And he did die after 'bout three days.

101 "When we go Gilroy, Sopahno tell me more Kahwatchwah
159 names. They call Indian tribe to north *Ho-no-um'-ne.* Indian
103 to south they called *Tucuyu.* They go from Kawatchwah south to *Apeche* (Ah-pe'-che) 'bout old Casa Blanca where Tranquality now. One their villages, name *Kahwahchu* [meaning
[361] Grass Nut Place] was right where they had that Mexican town, Las Juntas, just where Fish Slough and San Joaquin River go together. White people put big dam there in San Joaquin River.

[161] "When I little boy there just few them people left, maybe two, maybe three, live at Millerton with my people. Once, when
159 I 'bout six, seven years old they want to go back to Kahwahchu
769 to have one more big dance for dead people. They go. 'Bout fifteen, twenty our people go. My grandpa, Tomkit, he chief with Dumnas, he go. He help 'em make dance.. I go too.

"Old Chief Tucuyu, he go too. He been chief with that Tucuyu tribe before he go to missions. He want to see his old place once more. He live in mountains south of Bakersfield. He got place there he call Tucuyu too. When he go there from missions, he name it after his old people south Las Juntas.

[648] "We stay there one week and have dance for dead people. Mexicans there make trouble for us. They 'fraid we gonna maybe steal cattle, maybe hurt somebody. So we never go back again. Tucuyu big people once. They talk just like my
159 people. Once used to be Kahwatchwah village at San Luis
361 Ranch, where we stop all night when we drivin' mules freight team. It by San Luis ranch house. They call it *Hah-no'-mah.* Pacheco Pass they call *Lees-na'-yah.* One night we stop our mules team at Salt Slough [due east of the present town of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet.

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many generations his people had visited the place, which they called *Hutudu* (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to scatter, they were turned by the Indian fence and forced into a frightened, milling mass.

One Indian from each tribe or, if only one tribe was present, one Indian from each family, was allowed to enter the circle for the purpose of killing antelope. It is explained that if too many persons were allowed to begin shooting, the line would soon be broken and practically all of the antelope escape. The meat was carried home. Some of it was cooked at once and eaten fresh. The remainder of it was dried for future use.

There is one interesting detail in connection with the surround. It concerns the superstition of the huntsmen regarding the killing of antelope in this way. Sometimes, as the running antelope passed one of the Indians who was doing the shooting, a sharp whistling sound was heard.

Whether this whistle was caused by the passage of the running animal through the air, or by his breathing, is unknown, but the Indians regarded this noise as of great significance. They would not shoot an antelope from which this sound seemed to come. They said it was made by the ghost of *Peek'-ook,* the little Ground Owl, which after death selected some particular antelope to guard. This attitude on the part of the hunters can be better understood when it is known that the Ground Owl was the represenatitve of the *Ahanich,* or professional singers, who performed at the *Lonewis,* or annual ceremony for the dead.

SNARING AND STALKING

Snaring was one of the most interesting and clever Yokuts methods of taking game. We are assured by Indians and pioneer white settlers that almost all kinds of game were taken in this way, ranging in size from the ground squirrel to the elk.

The method of snaring was practically the same for all animals. A twig or limb was bent downward and fastened in place by a trigger. Attached to the trigger was a loop made of waxed string, or heavy cord. The loop was placed over a trail, or run-way, or in the mouth of a burrow in such a way that the game would pass part way through it and become entangled in it. As the animal struggled to free itself, the trigger was released and the branch sprang up-right, lifting the game partly or entirely from the ground, where it soon strangled.

In snaring small game a wythe was generally used. The larger end of it was thrust into the ground and the tip bent

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 We liked the Blankenships. They always treated us nice and
648 never cheated us.

Zac Blankenship was about three years older than me. When my mother washed, Zac used to play with my brother, Wehpes, and me. He showed us how to play marbles and we showed him how to play some Indian games. Zac told me once that I could swim before I could walk. He said that my mother used to wash at the creek back of the Blankenship house. My mother would put me in the water and bend down a willow limb for me to hold. She would go on washing and leave
[868] me there for a long time. Then she taught me how to swim. I
[854] do not remember this. Zac and his mother told me about it. But I do know that I could swim as early as I can remember.

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE LONEWIS

159 I was about six years old when we moved from Watot
769 Shulul to the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My father died about two weeks after we went there. My mother washed for Mrs. Rice and for Mrs. Blankenship for a long time to get money enough to have the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) for the dead people. At the Lonewis we have a big meeting and cry and dance for the dead people once a year. This Lonewis was at Sulawlahne the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. Lots of people were there; I think five or six hundred. Many of our people had died and there were lots of dead people to cry and sing for.

The first day of the Lonewis we call Monday now. All day the people came in from every direction. The *Teah* (Te'-ah) chief of the village, Sulawlahne, was named *Tepwuhtrah* (Teep-wuh'-trah). He was a *Wowol*, a cousin to my mother. He had a brother, *El'-ke*, who lived there too. Tepwuhtrah had invited them all to come. He had sent his *Winat'-un* [messenger] to tell them when to come. This Winatun was my step-father, *Ah-ka'-um-ne*. He was a Wowol.

There were four Winatun at this Lonewis, two men and two women. One was a *Kaweah* man named *Yah-pah'-kit*. One was a Chunut woman named *Moos'-took* and the other a *Choi'-nock* woman named *Mun-oi'-let*.

The Teah, Tepwuhtrah, sat under a shade made of willow poles and covered with willow brush. He did not leave that place all day. All of the people went to see him first when they came. He told the Winatun where to fix their camp.

[text continues on p. 230]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[574] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[551] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father
[317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we
[152] used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until
[243] after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[551] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
769
142
302
291
516

"Old Bdn," an aged, blind Wukchumna, showing a typical Yokuts head of coarse, heavy black hair bobbed in mourning, also a terribly embarrassed granddaughter. Photo, taken about 1900, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

in Visalia. She paid sixteen dollars for it. She had a good hat, shoes, socks, and underwear.

Mother stuffed the clothes with tules and fastened them together so they looked like a man. She painted the face. Then

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 she got out the fine baskets she had made to burn, and all of
769 father's things she had saved. Then she was ready for the
Lonewis.

If some man lost a wife they fixed some clothes like a woman and burned it. If they lost a little boy or a girl they dressed it up like a boy or girl. For a baby they fixed it on a baby cradle and burned it. In the old days they made these people to burn out of tules and dressed them with beads and a man's breech clout or woman's skirt.

159 The morning of the second day the Teah sent his *Win-*
769 *at'-un* (messenger) to tell all the people to come together. He
624 talked to them for a long time. Then the people from each tribe talked. They told about their dead people that they had been crying for. They told who they were and when they died. They told about how good the dead persons had been. By that time it was afternoon. They ate acorn mush and talked until about four o'clock. Then they all went back to their own shades and sat down.

Soon the Winatun came around to tell them to build their fires and get ready for the dancing and singing. He walked around the camp yelling this so everyone could hear. Then they all got ready. They built fires and got ready to dance all night.

The Winatun built a big fire in the middle of all the fires. It was made of dry oak and burned until the Lonewis was over. It was about twenty feet across. Some of the people carried wood for it almost all of the time.

159 At sundown everybody was ready. Nobody talked. Every-
769 thing was quiet. When we could just see *Ne'-waw Chi'-tus*.
[152] [the evening star], Tepwuhtra, the Teah, stood up in front of his fire. We all watched him. He called in a loud voice, "*He'-ahm tahn'-hin* [we are ready]." In a little while everyone was crying. Then they began to dance.

Most of the people danced around their own fires. Some danced around the fireplace for a while. They were singing to the big fire where they were going to burn their baskets and things. Then they went back to their own fires.

Most of the people sat close around their own fires and cried. They would rock back and forth and cry for awhile. Then they would sing. After awhile they would get up and dance and some of the others would sit down and cry and sing.
[539] This was one of the songs they sang:

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
769
[539]

Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-hah*
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We are crying)
Wuk'-e le'-o *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We cry again) (We are crying)
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*

When the song was done they all clapped their hands together and pointed at each other in time with each other.

They had men to lead the singing. All the people sang together. The lead singers were called *Ah-ha'-nitch*. We paid them to sing. There were about six at my father's Lonewis. They were painted black on their face, and stomach, too. They had white spots on their face and white stripes across their stomach. [533] [302]

All of the time until the Lonewis was over, all day and all night, some one was singing, someone was crying, someone was dancing.

The second night the *Hohuno* (Ho-hoo'-no) danced. This was the first night the big fire was lit. Hohuno was dressed in a long pretty blue dress that covered his head and reached to the ground. The Winatun dressed him. We children were all afraid of him. His Indian name was *Huyupah* (Hoo-yoo'-pah).

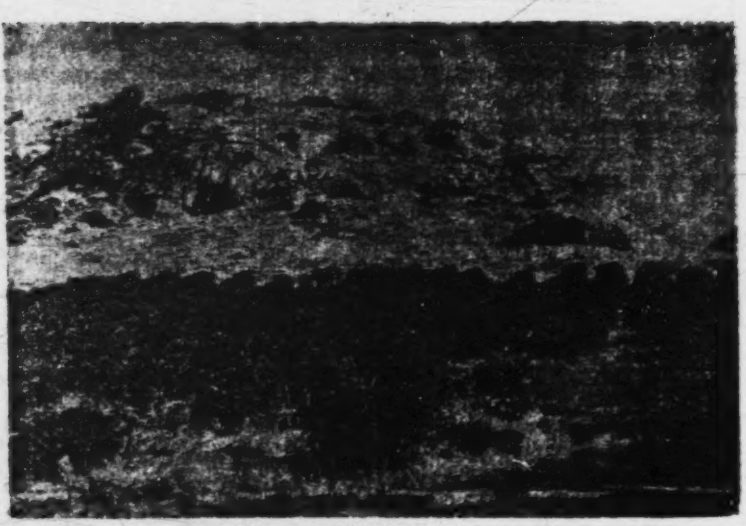
The part of the dress that went over Honuno's head was made of the smooth skin and feathers from a fish crane. It fitted close to his head and was so smooth not a feather was out of place, except two feather horns on each side like a horned owl. On the front were fastened two large round pieces of abalone shell for eyes. They were just above his eyes. He had peek-holes right under them. When he came close to us he would lean over and look at us with those big eyes and we would almost die. 159 769 292 237

From the shoulder down the dress was loose. Long, blue wing feathers from fish cranes were fastened to a loose skirt of strings. These feathers could swing loose as Hohuno danced. They were fastened about the middle so they would fly around like birds when he danced.

On his back, fastened across his shoulders, was a stick. About ten short pieces of bamboo hung loose from the stick. The pieces of bamboo were the size of a pencil, maybe a little bigger. When he danced, Hohuno would jerk his shoulders and make the bamboo sticks rattle together. 159 769 293

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
769
[133]



This grey, granite-strewn hill about two miles east of Woodlake, resembles the Yokuts blue heron clown when he had fallen during his dance, so the Wukchumne called it **Ho-hu'-no.**

Hohuno never spoke. He called, "Ho-hoo'-no," and whistled low. He danced light on the tips of his toes. He almost seemed to float around without touching the ground. He made shivers run up our backs.

[535]

People hid things and Hohuno found them. They would put beads in the grass, or under something. They hung some in a tree. Some they buried in the ground. Hohuno danced and whistled around the fires, going to one person and then another calling, "Ho-hoo'-no." He would dance backward and forward until finally he would point to where something was hid, and call, "Ho-hoo'-no." Then they had to give him what he had found. He found everything they had hid.

159
769
756

The third night the Indian doctors had a fight called *Hes-wus* [a sham battle]. This fight was by doctors who were both *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Trip'-ne.* The *Ahntru* Doctors doctored people with medicine. They did not know as much or do as many things as the Tripne Doctors. The Tripne Doctors were very strong [supernatural]. They could do anything, make anyone die, change into coyote, bear, or eagle, or make it rain.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The *Winatun* made the fires for the doctors. They made seven fires, three in a row on each side and one in the middle. They then went to tell the Teah that everything was ready. Everyone could see this from their camp fires.

Then the Teah called, *"He'-ahn tahn'-hin."* The doctors came out in pairs and went to their fires. An Ahntru Doctor went to the middle fire. He came from the Teah camp. All were dressed in their feather skirts and feather headdress. All were painted and had their magic things along. Each one had *Chapet* (Chap'-peet), the Tripne flat basket tray.

Near the middle fire was a high pole set in the ground. It was as high as a house. On it were tied baskets, strings of beads and other rich things. They were for the dead people. Each doctor would sing his song and shake his rattle. Then he would swing his Chapet in the air and put it over first one shoulder and then the other while he was singing. Then he would slap it on the ground quickly. It made a loud noise. Some of the doctors could make some of the baskets fall from the pole with this noise. Only the Tripne Doctors could do this.

They sang this song:

Ha-lahl'-mo hah'-hah hah'-hah

(Repeated four times.)

While they sang they danced to the center fire, stamping the ground with the same foot together and slapping the Chapets over their shoulders and against their sides.

The sun is just going down. They hold the Chapets up to the sun edgeways. Then they turn and dance back to their fires. One of the doctors slaps the Chapet on the ground and picks up something to shoot from his Chapet. Some get an arrow point, some a rock, some a bullet or something he can throw hard. He rubs it around the edge of his Chapet to make it Tripne.

They do not sing or talk while they do this. Everybody keeps quiet. They pass the Chapet around them at the waist and walk around their fire getting ready to fight. Then one slaps his Chapet on the ground and shoots at another doctor. Maybe the doctor falls down or he sits down. If he falls down he is dead [unconscious] and the Winatuns pick him up and carry him to his camp and he is done. He does not fight anymore. [He revives and watches the rest of the exhibition].

While the doctors were fighting, *Cuksa* (Cook'-sa) played around them. The Teah told him when to go in. The Winatun

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 dressed Cuksa. He wore an Ahntru headdress and skirt. In
769 one hand he carried *trah-waht'-will*, the rattle, or clapper.
756 Cuksa sang and went around among the people. He made lots of fun doing like the Tripne Doctors did. At last the doctors began shooting at him. He fell down and his people carried him back to his camp. The doctors doctored him and he finally came alive again. The people gave him some money. He was only to make fun.

[624] The middle doctor shot at those at the ends. When he killed one, the Winatun took him to the other side and the doctors there doctored him. If he was not hit bad they took [755] it out, an arrow point, acorn, rock or something. [these objects were introduced by sleight-of-hand] Then he went back to fight. If he was hit bad they took him to his camp.

There were a lot of helpers called *Chamum Maets* (Chah'-mum ma'-ets). They walked around those fighting. They yelled and disturbed the other side. Each doctor had his own Chamum Maets. They had to pay these helpers.

[237] The middle doctor spread *saw-nil* [eagle down] around him on the ground where the other doctors had been shooting at him. Then he brushed it up. The sawnil is Tripne and he took out of it [by sleight-of-hand] the things the other doctors had been shooting at him.

The fight was kept up until only one doctor was left. The outside people all paid the doctors while they were fighting, even after they had been hit. They gave them beads or arrows for pay. The doctors made lots of money that way. I saw all of this twice, once at *Sulawlahne* at the "Fish" Rice Ranch, south of Farmersville and once at Tule River Reservation.

159 The fourth night was when we came out with the clothes
769 stuffed like the dead people. About midnight they were brought out and carried around and pointed at the big fire for two or three hours. All of the time everyone was singing

[539]

Ah-hah'-nah
(We sing)
Yoo'-e uh'-la
(You are going to burn)
We-ah'-ah hah
(We are crying)
(Repeated indefinitely)

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

They took the stuffed clothes back into the house this fourth night. They did not burn them. Then some of the people sang and cried and danced until the next night.

The fifth night about midnight they brought out the same stuffed clothes and marched around and around the fire singing the same song. But this time they threw everything in the fire.

Just before they burned everything the Winatun threw small dry oak limbs on the fire to make a big blaze. Then the chief called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and they threw everything in the fire, almost all at once. The fire was almost covered up with stuffed clothes, baskets, and things that had belonged to the dead people.

The Ahanich (professional singers) had the right to catch anything they could as it was thrown on the fire. If they caught it, or could grab it out of the fire before it was burned, it belonged to them. Sometimes they got a whole suit of clothes, sometimes they got good baskets.

It was all right for the Ahanich to keep the clothes and wear them. But they had to get them to their camp before the person who threw them in could catch hold of them. If the Ahanich was caught, he had to give the things back to the person who had thrown them in and then that person could keep them and use them, or wear them. They did not need to be burned if the Ahanich caught them or took them out of the fire.

When the things were first thrown on the fire there was a good chance to take some out without getting burned. But in just a few seconds everything was on fire. We stood back and tried to throw the things over the Ahanich's heads into the middle of the fire.

I remember that one Ahanich caught a fine basket, one like they made just to burn. He ran for his camp. The lady who had thrown it in caught him, but he pulled loose and ran on. They quarreled about it and the Teah took the basket and threw it back in the fire.

By daylight everything was burned up and only a few people were singing and crying around their own fires. They kept that up all day.

My mother worked hard to get the money to buy the clothes to burn in the fire for my father. She washed for the Blankenships and for Mrs. "Fish" Rice. But you white people do the same thing. You save money and dress dead people in good clothes. You spend lots of money for coffin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

142
177
302
516
755
304

Jennie, an aged **Wukchumne**, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such doctoring. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a **Chumlus** at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

159 769 [775] Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear. What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch*, the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 767 769 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

and went in the creek. The Chumlus washed us clean and dried us. Then she put our new clothes on us. She had already been paid for the clothes and the new basket she had made to wash us in.

Everybody now has a good time. They sing, "*He'-ahm lo'-hin Lo'-ne'-wis,*" the Lonewis is over. They go back to the fires and have a big feast. They have acorn bread and all kinds of meat: roast antelope and elk and jack rabbit and squirrel and beef. They they have a big dance for fun and get ready to go home.

Everyone is tired and happy and feels good until someone else dies in the family. When I was a little girl our people died so fast that we were getting ready for Lonewis all of the time. That is why I remember it so much.

The Lonewis at *Sulawlahne* and one at *Watot Shulul* were the biggest I ever saw. But I went to about a dozen pretty big ones before I was grown.

YOIMUT'S STORY
TIHPIKNITS PAHN

When I was a little girl I heard several times the story of the Yokuts Land of the Dead, which we call *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn*. Pahn is our name for "land". Tihpiknits is the name of the great bird person who rules over the dead. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) and *Tachi* all had a story just like this. I heard some of their old people tell it lots of times. When we were sitting around the camp fire in the evening *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the ground owl, would call and then they would tell the story. I know it best of all my stories.

The last time I heard the story of Tihpiknits Pahn it was told near Visalia by Nahalets (Nah-ha'-leets), last chief of the *Telumne* (Ta'-lum-ne) Yokuts tribe which lived around where Visalia is now. I was about eight years old then.

Nahalets told the story during the last *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis), or crying for the dead people, that was ever held at the old *Telumne* Yokuts village of *Wa-tot' Shulul* at Visalia. At this Lonewis almost all of the Indians became sick and died of measles and we never gathered there again.

Tihpiknits Pahn is the place where the dead Indians go. It is six nights journey to the north. Only the good people can get there. The dead people dance a Lonewis, or crying dance

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Mono Indian Doctors said that if we held a big new kind of dance at Eshom valley we could stop all of the dying and could bring back all of our dead people. So our doctors and our Teah (Te'-ah, chief) agreed to help. They called this new dance *Heut Hetwe* (He'-ut Het'-we).

At the Eshom valley Heut Hetwe we were to see all of our dead people. *Tih-pik'-nits,* the bird person who was keeper of the hereafter, was to bring back to us our fathers, mothers, uncles, aunts and our grandparents. Then no one was to die anymore. That was why all of the Indians went to Eshom valley. The white people thought they were going to fight. They did not want to fight. They were not going to hurt anyone.

When we went to Eshom valley my people were living about three miles south of Farmersville at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My people called that place *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-ne). The Teah there was *Teep-wuit'-trah.* He belonged to the *Wowol* tribe. He was uncle to my mother. He took us to Eshom valley.

It was a nice place in Eshom valley where the dance was held. The Indians used to go there to gather clover to eat. There was always a nice field of sweet clover there in the spring. We called Eshom valley *Chetutu* (Che-tut'-oo), or clover place. There is a creek in the valley. The dance was made near a water hole in the creek.

The Eshom valley dance was the biggest dance I ever saw. Indians came from everywhere, some from Tule river and Deer Creek, some from Lemoore and some from Kings river. We went horseback from Sulawlahnne. It took us two days to go there.

The chiefs who had charge of the dance told us that we must not get angry or be mean to one another at the dance. We were to keep dancing all the time. Only the little children could sleep. If anyone did not dance he would die or turn into a rotten log of wood.

The chiefs also told us that we must bathe in the creek every morning. When the *Win-at'-un* (messenger) called we were all to run to the creek and bathe. They told us that we were going to dance the same dance that the dead people dance in *Tihpiknis Pahn* [Land of the Dead].

We danced in a big circle at Eshom valley. Sometimes everybody danced at once. We held each others' hands. We

[Text continues on p. 249]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

moved them from our shoulders down at each step. We stepped to the left. After we got tired we just dragged one foot and then the other. Some carried little baskets of beads and threw them on the ground as they danced. We danced around and around in the same place all of the time and made a deep ditch in the ground. It was a new dance to us. It was different from the *Lonewis* (Lo-nee'-wis) dance.

About six or seven *Ahanich* (Ah-ha'-nitch) [professional singers] led the singing. The Indian doctors wore skirts and feather hats and danced around with the rest of us. The main song that they sang went like this:

Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
(I will be anything)
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah'-nah nahn' een'-ah a - a
[repeat indefinitely]

I do not know all of the words, but they mean something like, "I will be anything, crow, rock, stick, rattlesnake, or anything, if our dead people come back."

All of the time we expected to see our dead people come back. We got tired, but we danced six days and nights. Once a small girl did not want to dance, but her mother made her dance anyway. After awhile the girl left the circle and went to her mother's camp. She lay down and died. The doctors worked over her for an hour or two and brought her back to life. They got a pine tree top and stood it up on her breast. Then they called all of us girls to watch her. The doctors blew on her forehead and she finally awakened.

The mother asked the girl who had died what she had seen. We thought maybe she had seen some of her dead people. But she said, "Nothing." Then she was all right again. The girl's name was *Ne-he'-ut*. She is still living at Rio Chiquito over near Kern River.

When the dance was almost over, Pleas Work and his brother, and "Club-foot" Guthrie and an Indian named *Ho'-sawm* came and told us that the white people were coming to kill all of us. We were afraid of the white people all of the time, so we all ran away into the timber and mountains. This was before the last night of the dance was over. We left without either our grub or our clothes.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 That night we stayed among the brush and rocks after we had gone a couple of miles from the camp. Then we went on farther until we found a good place to hide in a canyon this side of Kings River. We stayed there almost a week, until we almost starved. Some people killed a little game and one bear. We ate the bear meat. That was all we had, even the little children.

After we had been hid almost a week some white people came and told us that no one would hurt us. So we came back to our own camp and got ready to go home. We never finished the Eshom valley dance.

When we came back to the San Joaquin valley we were almost completely starved. I remember that the first thing I had to eat was ripe peaches. They were the best peaches I ever ate.

We had a good time at Eshom Valley, but we were sorry we did not see our dead people. Lots of our people had been dying and we wanted to see them.

Several months after the dance at Eshom Valley my people decided to have another dance. They had not finished the dance at Eshom valley. They thought that if they had another dance and finished it the dead people would really come back.

[103] The second dance was held at the old village of Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farmersville. We danced for six days and nights there, but never saw any of our dead people. After that we knew the Indians from across the mountains had been fooling us. So we did not have any more of those Heut Hetwe dances to bring back the dead people.

YOIMUT'S STORY

CHUNUT CAMP LIFE

159 342 In the old days, before white people came to Tulare Lake, my people had three kinds of houses. Two houses were made of tules. One house was made of poles and dirt. I never saw but two of the dirt houses. The Indians stopped making them before I was born. When I was about ten years old my mother took me to camp at a place about four or five miles south of the Buzzard's Roost. It is about three miles from Waukena. It was the place on the creek by the big ditch where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. When we went to the place there were a lot of Indian dirt houses there. Almost all of them had fallen down. We went there when you white people were having a big war [the Civil War].

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone.

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13]

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni´ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies.

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors.

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō´o ka´maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation.

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 standard pattern of ritual laving, gift exchange or ritual payment, and feasting. In a sense, the great Annual Mourning Ceremony combined two ritual series 796 for Yokuts and Western Mono: basically it was an exaggerated form of the 769 private or family mourning ceremony, but because of its size and consequent dependence upon adequate food supply it necessarily occurred in a season of abundance. Thus the seasonal, public, or community ceremonial series, and the non-timed, private, or familial series were combined in the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Both series had a feature in common: they were concerned with initial occurrences of certain events, those in nature of yearly repetition, and those of the individual life which, once acknowledged, were usually allowed to pass unnoticed at later recurrences. The formal purification of the person by washing, [783] in the private rituals, is indicative of the different psychological character of that series.

III

182 The dependence of subsistence and material culture (food, medicine, shelter, weapons, raiment, utensils, ornaments) upon environment is basic and of tremendous importance in all cultures so primitive that no extraneous supply of these things are available to relieve the people, as individuals or communities, from direct concern with their immediate natural resources. From the outset, we have taken this for granted as the fundamental culture-environment relationship from which, for Yokuts and Western Mono like almost all other North American Indians, there was no escape. But for these people the cultural concern with natural surroundings was not limited to utilitarian value.

182 Yokuts and Western Mono ceremonies were engaged with environmental 796 features of annual recurrence, and cosmic cultural history, religious beliefs, official status, and family relationship symbols were associated with their faunal co-habitants.

This is a culture-environment form of integration of more than a merely 182 mechanical sort: features of the environment which are not essential to basic subsistence are caught up into the ceremonial, social, and religious superstructure. Does this mean that a culture which carries more environmental references is less subject to change—is more stable—than one which has less? The general question cannot be answered with our data, but so far as the culture here used in demonstration of the problem is concerned, it would seem reasonable to assume that Yokuts-Mono culture, because of the form its interest in externals took, was held to its pattern by environmental stimuli.

With the exception of terrain (though perhaps in a locale subject to flood even this need not be excepted), "environment" is not a static thing—with a

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE CHIEF

SOCIAL STATUS

554 The social organization of the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes was exceedingly simple. There was a complete absence of anything like a class or caste system. With the exception of the chief's and winatum's lineages, which were mildly aristocratic, any man was as good as his neighbor. This does not mean that there was a failure to recognize differences between individuals. But the differences of influential superiority or inferiority grew out of qualities inherent in the person himself, such as his abilities to acquire wealth or supernatural power, or to be an inspiring orator. Though wealth was [556] regarded as desirable, and a wealthy man was respected for his possessions, the actual range of financial extremes was not great. There was no wealthy class. The annual mourning ceremonies at which much property was destroyed and more distributed among the attend- 769 ants, dispossessed a bereaved family of such wealth as it might have accumulated. The casting away of gifts at mourning ceremonies had the further advantage of keeping money and coveted objects in circulation. One might say that among the Yokuts and Western Mono the per capita wealth had a low mean deviation.

787 To seek assistance from supernatural powers for success in gambling, hunting, or general good health and fortune was anyone's privilege. This was accomplished through dreams of animals and birds, as of Eagle for wealth, Mountain Lion for hunting, etc., which were acquired by the use of a tobacco emetic, a day-to-week-long meat fast, and praying to the animal both before and after its dream appearance. Relatively simple as were the rules for gaining supernatural help, many persons thought them too troublesome and preferred to ignore them. Thus it was that in south central Californian society an individual attained success by his own inherent abilities and [554] energy; the intelligently industrious person, perhaps encouraged by belief that sacred powers were aiding him, would, other things being equal, find himself in a better social and financial position than his stupid or less enterprising neighbor.

622 As a citizen in the community the chief possessed social prestige based primarily on his revered totem and authoritative office, and secondarily upon the wealth that accrued to him because of his posi-

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief contributed. When the doctor or dancers gave a performance in which they were accompanied by one or more singers, the winatums collected a little money from all the persons who assembled to witness it. This collection was given to the dancers and out of it they paid their accompanists and winatums. Doctors who wanted to make money might offer to give an exhibition on these occasions. For this they first obtained the chief's permission. In this case the chief paid them a sum just as if he had requested the dance.

In defraying the expenses of annual mourning ceremonies the entire tribe contributed as usual. The largest sums of money were furnished by the chiefs, the subchiefs, and the bereaved families. Though it was not compulsory for every family in the tribe to subscribe to the mourning ceremony it was an expected obligation. Noncontributors would not attend the affair. The results of not joining in the annual mourning ceremony will be taken up in a later section.

The system of payment at this ceremony is extremely involved. As it has no bearing upon the present discussion a description of the method will be omitted here. However, this much should be said, that from this affair the chiefs profited not at all, in fact were sometimes reduced in circumstances by it. They received financial aid from the subchiefs whose duty it was to make up any deficit in the funds which were needed for the occasion.

What becomes apparent from this system of paying for the expenses of festivities is this: that the chief requested certain performances, sanctioned others, that cost money; doctors and dancers did not dance and winatums did not run errands for nothing. But it was the spectators who paid the expenses. The chief was, and was regarded as, the ceremonial leader of his community of whom it was said "he gave this dance," "he made that mourning ceremony," etc., in spite of the fact that it was the public at large who paid for them. No public taxes were levied and placed in a general fund, but the more simple expedient of having the persons present at any ceremony contribute on the spot produced the same result.

EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

There were usually two or three chiefs in a tribe, perhaps occasionally more. A village of any size boasted at least one or two. A Wukchumni (Y) informant states that his tribe had five chiefs when he was a boy. Three of them lived at Gutsnumi, the other two at

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 Daiapnuca. He cannot remember their names, but knows that some
[614] of them were related to each other, i.e., they did not represent five
622 different lineages. When a decision relative to a local group was to
623 be made its chiefs had to act unanimously, and similarly all chiefs if the entire tribe were involved. The same informant continued:[28]

In a single village, if one chief suggested having a fandango, the others had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. If one chief were thinking about something he wanted to do he would tell his winatum to get the other chief or chiefs. In the meantime he would go out to the fire which a winatum had built. A winatum notified the villagers that there was going to be a meeting. Everyone in camp who wished to go to the meeting could do so regardless of sex or age. The chief would start talking to the people as they gradually assembled. As he talked to the people, the other chiefs upon their arrival, talked among themselves, agreeing or disagreeing with what was being said publicly. The winatum of the chief who was making his speech would go to the others to see what they thought. If they all agreed to go ahead with the plan that had been suggested, all of them, including the instigator, held a low-voiced consultation about specific plans, for instance, the date of holding a fandango. Their decision was announced at once to the people, who were waiting to hear it. If a chief, while addressing an audience, said something wrong one of the others would speak up and correct him.

622 The executive governing of the chiefs was of a paternal-judiciary
769 type. That is to say, they were consulted for advice, and gave or denied permission for certain events to take place. Thus were preparations made for the annual mourning ceremony among the Wukchumni (Y) and Yaudanchi (Y):[29]

Families who had lost relatives during the year and wanted to make the mourning ceremony would talk about it among themselves. They had been saving money, and getting or making baskets in preparation for it. When they decided that they were ready they sent for the chief's winatum and told him to tell the chief what they wanted to do. The winatum went back to the chief. If there were other chiefs in the village they were summoned for a conference (as described above). If the chiefs thought enough money and supplies were obtainable to carry through their plans they would set the date for the affair at twelve days in the future. Then they sent their winatums to those neighboring tribes that they wanted to invite.

There were minor variations in the procedure not given in the above account. A Wobonuch (WM) informant described it as follows:[30]

The month in which a mourning ceremony was to be held was tentatively set a year ahead. During that time everyone saved up for the celebration, especially the bereaved families. When the month drew near the most influential chief sent

[28] Joe Pohot; see Appendix.
[29] From Sam Garfield; see Appendix.
[30] From 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

for the other or secondary chiefs, and for the head members of the families who were to give the ceremony in order to decide whether the time was still acceptable to all. If the chiefs delayed in calling this meeting and the families concerned wanted the matter discussed they could approach the chief and ask for a conference. The choice of a date depended mainly upon the financial condition of the bereaved families, and the amount of food available. The affair was usually held in the late summer after the village members had returned from their summer camps. Game and vegetable supplies were most abundant at that time. This was important as the host tribe was responsible for the subsistence of all visitors for a six-day period, as well as for giving and throwing away quantities of food. 622 769

Those who talked over the coming ceremony were first the chief or chiefs of the village and their brothers who had to share the expenses. The chiefs' winatums were always present. This small committee knew the whereabouts of absent members of their own village who were expected to be present, and how long it would take to notify them of the coming affair. At this meeting the date was set for about three weeks away. If men were off working and sent back a reply that they could not be ready by that date then the date would be shifted a few days to meet everyone's convenience as nearly as possible. Also other tribes asked, especially the one having the reciprocal part in the ceremony, might alter the date if they felt that they could not be ready at the time suggested.

After the first meeting held by the chiefs and bereaved families the local chief's winatum would call the other winatums, both men and women. The men he would send to chiefs of other villages and tribes that were to be invited, and to local people who were away and should be notified. The women winatums were told to look to the food supply and arrange for the cooking during the week of the ceremony. The most influential chief's winatum was the head one; it was he who usually bore the invitation to the reciprocating tribe. There was a winatum who acted as dance manager, and supervised the camp assembly and food provisions. The doctors' winatums set about getting other doctors for the dances. 624 769

The round of ceremonials during the year was always the same: the jimsonweed ceremony, the snake dance, and the first salmon ceremonial took place in the spring, and the mourning ceremony, first seed and acorn rites, and the bear dance occurred in the fall. Everyone knew approximately when these dances should be held but the specific time was always decided by the chief. The procedure was about as above. If snake doctors or bear dancers wished to hold their ceremonies they sent a notice to the chief. On the other hand, a chief who thought that the time for the ceremony was approaching and who had heard no report of the dancers' intentions, would send a winatum asking them to prepare for the ceremony. Thus among the Wukchumni (Y):[21] 796 622

My people all have bear poca on my father's side. The chief told them when to make the bear dance. This would be along toward Christmas time. The chief sent his winatum to my father's brother asking him when he would be ready. He said he'd be ready in twelve days. Then my uncle picked out some of us to dance with him.

[21] Informant Mollie Lawrence; see Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 648 728 tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

621 625 574 The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

622 648 [776] The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622 The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

622 769 The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end of your feeling bad.'"[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Josie Alonso.

[42] Mariean Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622
769

fact his English speech is exceptionally good, and he quite willingly gave the best rendition that he could of a chief's speech at a Ghost Dance ceremony.[43]

622
[115]

On the whole there seemed to be a distinct reluctance on the part of informants to provide this information. Whether this was due to the feeling that an ordinary person should not repeat a chief's address, or that they actually felt that they could not do justice to the chief's rhetoric it is impossible to tell. Stephen Powers had the good fortune to witness a mourning ceremony among the Chukchansi (Y). In his account of the Yokuts he gives in considerable detail the speeches of the chief and his herald on this occasion.[44] These are substantially the same as the description given by my informants. The substance of all informants' remarks on this subject was that the chiefs in addressing an assembly would tell the people why they were there, what was going to be done, and end by telling them to have a good time.

[554]

In the previous pages we have discussed the various functions of the chief. The chief, however limited in power, had a social prestige resting upon his position as a protégé of and surrogate for Eagle, the mythological creator-chief. He possessed more wealth than the average citizen in spite of the fact that his position incurred more than average expenses. His relations with his subjects had a distinctly patriarchal aspect: he provided food for the poor, settled quarrels, generously paid messengers and ceremonial performers, gave advice on debatable projects, protected public safety by permitting bad shamans and poisoners to be killed, and addressed assemblies in words betokening his desire for the well-being of his people. That this is the generally accepted aspect of the chief appears from the foregoing accounts supplied by a variety of informants. However, a chief who was not a good man at heart, and who had a desire for personal aggrandizement, attained it through illegitimate arrangements with malevolent shamans. This matter will be taken up after the shaman's functions and position in the tribe has been defined.

[43] Sam Osborn. Gayton, *op. cit.*

[44] *Op. cit.*, 386, 387.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

616
622
572
765

prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

756
769
572
622

The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

619
648

The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

182 and too devastating to make suitable exemplary material in the present
177 study. But there is at least one historical case on record for Yokuts and Western Mono wherein the old social pattern was maintained in the face of a new and imposing cultural phenomenon, the disturbing influence of the Ghost Dance of 1870, which was diffused throughout the greater part of the San Joaquin valley. The medium and course of its diffusion, and the process of acculturation which it underwent, have been dealt with in a separate paper.[84] For our present purpose only its effects on political life are of interest, and in this case the effects were negative. The cultural mechanism in operation at the introduction of the Ghost Dance continued to function; new ceremonial items were converted into local concepts,[85] though the new dance form was accepted.

177 The phases of the Ghost Dance which bore upon the local political
182 and social system were its method of diffusion and the social problems
622 raised in holding its large assemblies. In both cases the chiefs were
769 the controlling factors. The first news of the cult to reach the western slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains was brought by traders. No attention was paid to this. A few months later a North Fork Mono chief who had been converted to the messianic faith by a Paiute apostle visited Western Mono and Yokuts tribes of the San Joaquin river to proselytize. This he did by making public speeches, sending winatums about to near-by tribes, and "making" a Ghost Dance at a site in his own territory. The Paiute apostle was with him to preach the doctrine, but it was the chief who acted as instigator and ceremonial leader. The same process went on at the next point of diffusion toward the south, Eshom valley, in Waksachi territory. Here the actual enthusiasts were a number of Wobonuch and Entimbich singers. But regardless of their conviction that the Ghost Dance must be made, that the "father" and host of dead were returning, they proceeded in the usual manner to get permission from the local chiefs, Takac, Laoteu'i, and Hamate, to hold the dance. Takac called his brother, Kocowi, a powerful shaman, into conference and it was agreed to hold the dance. The preparations were made by Takac through his winatums though it was the group of singers who were the real instigators. Takac's winatums carried invitations a great

[84] Gayton, *op. cit.*

[85] These were briefly: the identification of the "father" with Eagle or Tuwawiya; the land of the dead described as that of a Yokuts-Western Mono myth; the use of the local sacred number six instead of five; use of totemic paint patterns; shamans as special communicators with the supernatural world; and turning into a log of wood if one fell asleep.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

177
182
622
769

distance south and west, they arranged for a food supply, and during the week of ceremonial managed the camp organization. In the meantime the singers visited near-by towns, spreading the new faith. When the dance was actually held, Takac, the chief, made a preliminary address; he told the assembled people why they were there and what they were going to do. Then he turned the meeting over to a Ghost Dance apostle, as he would have done had it been a local ceremonial such as a shaman's contest, huhuna dance, etc. Kocowi, the shaman, presumably in the guise of a person familiar with the supernatural, occasionally addressed the multitude. Otherwise shamans took no active part in the dancing but remained by themselves while they exerted their occult powers to get news from the supernatural world. From time to time their winatums reported to the assembly what news the shamans had received.

[756]

The excessive size of the Ghost Dance assemblies might well have upset the normal ceremonial organization. The fanatical converts might have carried out their proselytizing without consulting the chiefs. The chiefs lost nothing of dignity or prestige in the face of Eagle's or Tuwawiya's (the "father's") expected return. In fact, the chiefs as ceremonial leaders not only were responsible for the holding of Ghost Dances but were responsible for their discontinuance as well. After a year or more of united effort by the greater part of the Yokuts-Western Mono population, the predicted results were apparently not forthcoming. The people were physically wearied, and were neglecting their hunting and household duties, all to no purpose. Seeing this the chiefs called their people together and in the interests of public welfare asked them to stop holding Ghost Dances. The cult was worn out, and except for individuals who occasionally sang the Ghost Dance songs in the privacy of their houses, was put aside as a thing of the past.

The diffusion of the Ghost Dance in south central California offers a specific case wherein the established cultural mechanism continued to function under the stress of a highly disturbing influence. Chiefs, shamans, and winatums, wielding their official and occult powers, carried on their customary rôles in political and social life. We cannot, of course, be certain that this persistence was due to the network of beliefs ramifying these institutions. But at least it can be said that the persistence occurred, and that the social traits involved were integrated with the mythology, lineage system, and ceremonies of Yokuts-Mono culture.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

773 while the crow made the west one. Little by little, as they dropped in the earth, these great mountains grew athwart the face of the waters, pushing north. It was a work of many years, but finally they met together at Mount Shasta, and their labors were ended. But, behold, when they compared their mountains, it was found that the crow's was a great deal the larger. Then the hawk said to the crow, "How did this happen, you rascal? I warrant you have been stealing some of the earth from my bill, and that is why your mountains are the biggest." It was a fact, and the crow laughed in his claws. Then the hawk went and got some Indian tobacco and chewed it, and it made him exceedingly wise. So he took hold of the mountains and turned them round in a circle, putting his range in place of the crow's; and that is why the Sierra Nevada is larger than the Coast Range.

This legend is of value as showing the aboriginal notions of geography. In explaining the story, the Indian drew in the sand a long ellipse, representing quite accurately the shape of the two ranges; and he had never traveled away from King's River.

769 While in Coarse Gold Gulch, it was my good fortune to witness the great dance for the dead (*ko-ti'-wa-chil*), which was one of the most extraordinary human spectacles I ever beheld. It was not the regular annual dance, but a special one, held by request of Ko-lo'-mus-nim, a subchief of the Chukchansi; but it was in all respects as strange, as awful, as imposing an exhibition of barbaric superstition and barbaric affection as is afforded by the formal anniversary. Not to my dying hour will the recollection of that frightful midnight pageant be effaced.

First, it will be well to explain that among the Yokuts the dance for the dead is protracted nearly a week. The first two or three nights, while they are waiting for the assembling of the tardy delegations, are occupied only in speech-making, story-telling, etc., until a late hour; but during the last three nights they dance throughout the night until morning, and on the third night, about daybreak, they burn the offerings consecrated to the dead. This happened to be the first of the last three nights, hence no burning occurred, but in every other respect it was complete, and all the

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

exercises were conducted with more energy and with fuller choruses than they would have been after the Indians had become exhausted. 769

When Tueh, the Indian interpreter, and myself entered the camp it was already an hour after nightfall, but there were yet no indications of a beginning of the dark orgies that were to be enacted. We found about three hundred Indians assembled, in a place remote from any American habitations, and encamped in light, open booths of brushwood, running around three sides of a spacious quadrangle. This quadrangle had been swept and beaten smooth for a dancing-floor, and near one of the inside corners there was a small, circular embankment, like a circus-ring, with the sacred fire brightly burning in the center. Kolomusnim and his relatives, the chief mourners, occupied the corner-booths near this ring, and near by was Sloknich, the head-chief of the Chukchansi, by whose authority this assembly had been convened. Here and there a fire burned with a staggering, sleepy blaze just outside the quadrangle, faintly glimmering through the booths; at intervals an Indian moved stealthily across the half-illuminated space within; while every few minutes the atmosphere was rendered discordant and hideous, as indeed the whole night was, during the most solemn passages, by the yelping, snarling, and fighting of the hordes of dogs. [231]

For fully half an hour we slowly sauntered and loitered about the quadrangle, conversing in undertones, but still nothing occurred to break the somber silence, save the ever-recurring scurries of yelps from the accursed dogs. Now and then an Indian slowly passed across and sat down on the circular embankment, while others in silence occasionally fed the sacred fire. But at last, from Kolomusnim's quarter, there came up a long, wild, haunting wail, in a woman's voice. After a few minutes it was repeated. Soon another joined in, then another, and another, slowly, very slowly, until the whole quarter was united in an eldritch, dirge-like, dismal chorus. After about half an hour it ceased, as slowly as it began; and again there was profound, death-like silence; and again it was broken by the ever-renewed janglings of the dogs.

Some time again elapsed before any further movement was made, and then Sloknich, a little, old man, but straight as an arrow, with a sharp face

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 and keen, little, basilisk eyes, stepped forth into the quadrangle and began to walk slowly to and fro around its three sides, making the opening proclamation. He spoke in extremely short, jerky sentences, with much repetition, substantially as follows:

[539] "Make ready for the mourning. Let all make ready. Everybody make ready. Prepare your offerings. Your offerings to the dead. Have them all ready. Show them to the mourners. Let them see your sympathy. The mourning comes on. It hastens. Everybody make ready."

He continued in this manner for about twenty minutes, then ceased and entered his booth; after which silence, funereal and profound, again brooded over the encampment. By this proclamation he had formally opened the proceedings, and he took no further part in them, except in a short speech of condolence. By this time the Indians had collected in considerable numbers on the embankment, and they kept slowly coming forward until the circle was nearly completed, and the fire was only visible shooting up above their heads. A low hum of conversation began to buzz around it, as of slowly awakening activity. The slow piston-rod of aboriginal dignity was beginning to ply; the clatter and whizzing of the machinery were swelling gradually up. No women had yet come out, for they took no part in the earlier proceedings. It was now quite ten o'clock, and we were getting impatient.

Presently the herald, a short, stout Indian, with a most voluble tongue, came out into the quadrangle with a very long staff in his hand, and paced slowly up and down the lines of booths, proclaiming:

769 539 "Prepare for the dance. Let all make ready. We are all friends. We are all one people. We were a great tribe once. We are little now. All our hearts are as one. We have one heart. Make ready your offerings. The women have the most money. The women have the most offerings. They give the most. Get ready the tobacco. Let us chew the tobacco."

[195] This man spoke with an extraordinary amount of repetition. For instance, he would say: "The women—the women—the women—have the most—have the most—the most money—have the most money—the

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 ●

women—the women—have the most offerings—the most offerings—give the most—give the most—the women—the women—give the most." [539] [195]

He spoke fully as long as Sloknich had done, and while he was speaking they were preparing a decoction of Indian tobacco by the fire. When he ceased he took his place in the circle, and all of them now began to sip and taste the tobacco, which seemed to be intended as a kind of mortification of the flesh. Sitting along on the embankment, while the nauseous mess was passing around in a basket, and others were tasting the boiled leaves, they sought to mitigate the bitter dose with jokes and laughter. One said, "Did you ever see the women gather tobacco for themselves?" This was intended as a jest, for no woman ever touches the weed, but nobody laughed at it. As the powerful emetic began to work out its inevitable effect, one Indian after another arose from the circle and passed slowly and silently out into the outer darkness, whence there presently came up to our ears certain doleful and portentous sounds, painfully familiar to people who have been at sea. After all the Indians in the circle, except a few tough stomachs, had issued forth into the darkness and returned to their places, about eleven o'clock, the herald went around as before, making a third proclamation: 769 276

"Let all mourn and weep. O, weep for the dead. Think of the dead body lying in the grave. We shall all die soon. We were a great people once. We are weak and little now. Be sorrowful in your hearts. O, let sorrow melt your hearts. Let your tears flow fast. We are all one people. We are all friends. All our hearts are one heart." 769 [539]

For the last hour or so the mourners and their more intimate friends and sympathizers, mostly women, had been collecting in Kolomusnim's quarter, close behind the circle, and preparing their offerings. Occasionally a long, solitary wail came up, trembling on the cold night-wind. At the close of the third proclamation they began a death-dance, and the mourners crowded promiscuously in a great, open booth, and held aloft in their hands or on their heads, as they danced, the articles they intended to offer to the memory of the departed. It was a splendid exhibition of barbaric gewgaws. Glittering necklaces of *Haliotis* and other rare marine shells; bits of American tapestry; baskets of the finest workmanship, on which they [301]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 [30] had toiled for months, perhaps for years, circled and furred with hundreds of little quail-plumes, bespangled, scalloped, festooned, and embroidered with beadery until there was scarcely place for the handling; plumes, shawls, etc. Kolomusnim had a pretty plume of metallic-glistening ravens' feathers in his hand. But the most remarkable article was a great plume, 769 237 293 nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons—a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume contrasting so strangely with the tattered and howling savages over whom it gorgeously swayed and flaunted. [532] Another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing, to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomusnim.

769 786 152 The beholding of all these things, some of which had belonged to the departed, and the strong contagion of human sorrow, wrought the Indians into a frenzy. Wildly they leaped and wailed; some flung themselves upon the earth and beat their breasts. There were constant exhortations to grief. Sloknich, sitting on the ground, poured forth burning and piercing words: "We have all one heart. All our hearts bleed with yours. Our eyes weep tears like a living spring. O, think of the poor, dead woman in the grave." Kolomusnim, a savage of a majestic presence, bating his garb, though a hesitating orator, was so broken with grief that his few sobbing words moved the listeners like a funeral knell. Beholding now and then a special friend in the circle, he would run and fall upon his knees before him, bow down his head to the earth, and give way to uncontrollable sorrow. Others of the mourners would do the same, presenting to the friend's gaze some object which had belonged to the lamented woman. The friend, if a man, would pour forth long condolences; if a woman, she would receive the mourner's head in her hands, tenderly stroke down her hair, and unite her tears and lamentations with her's. Many an eye, both of men and women, both of mourners and strangers, glistened in the flickering fire-light with copious and genuine tears.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 152

But amid all this heart-felt mourning there were occasional manifestations of purely mechanical grief that were amusing. The venerable Sloknick, though he was a gifted and thrilling orator, a savage Nestor, preserved a dry eye; but once in a while he would arise in his place and lift up his voice in mourning like a sandhill-crane, then presently sit down and [226] calmly light a cigarette. After smoking two or three, he would stand up and fire away again. Cigarettes were burning everywhere. An Indian would take one out of his mouth and give a prolonged and dolorous bellow, then take a few whiffs again.

Yet even these comical manifestations were so entirely in earnest that nobody thought of laughing at the time; and though one's sense of humor could not but make silent note of them the while, they were greatly overborne by the outpouring of genuine, unmistakable grief. So far even from smiling, one might, without being accused of sentimental weakness, have dropped a tear at the spectacle of these poor wretches, weeping not more perhaps for the loved and lost than over their own miserable and hapless destiny of extermination.

These demonstrations continued a long time, a very long time, and I 769 began to be impatient again, believing that the principal occasion had passed. It appeared afterward that they are compelled by their creed and custom to prolong the proceedings until daylight; hence this extreme deliberation.

But now, at last, about one o'clock in the morning, upon some preconcerted signal, there was a sudden and tumultuous rushing from all quarters of the quadrangle, amid which the interpreter and myself were almost borne down. For the first time during the night the women appeared conspicuously on the scene, thronged into the sacred circle, and quickly formed a ring close around the fire—a single circle of maidens, facing inward. The whole multitude of the populous camp crowded about them in confusion, jostling and struggling. A choir of male singers took their position hard by and commenced the death-song, though they were not audible except to the nearest listeners. 769

At the same instant the young women began their frightful dance, 786 535

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 which consisted of two leaps on each foot alternately, causing the body to
786 rock to and fro; and either hand was thrust out with the swaying, as if the
535 offering it held were about to be consigned to the flames, while the breath was forced out with violence between the teeth, in regular cadence, with a harsh and grinding sound of *heh!* The blaze of the sacred fire flamed redly out between the bodies of the dancers, swaying in accord, while the disheveled locks of the leaping hags wildly snapping in the night wind, the blood-curdling rasp of their breath in concert, and the frightful ululations and writhings of the mourners, conspired to produce a terrible effect. At the sight of this weird, awful, and lurid spectacle, which was swung into motion so suddenly, I felt all the blood creep and tingle in my veins, and my eyes moisten with the tears of a nameless awe and terror. We were beholding now, at last, the great dance for the dead.

All the long remainder of that frenzied night, from one o'clock to two, to three, to four, to five, those women leaped in the maddening dance, through smoke, and choking dust, and darkness, and glaring light, and cold, and heat, amid the unceasing wail of the multitude, not knowing or heeding aught else on earth. Once in five or ten minutes, when the choir completed a chorus, there was a pause of a few seconds; but no one moved from her place for a moment. What wonder that only the strongest young maidens were chosen for the duty! What wonder that the men avoided this terrible ordeal!

769 About four o'clock, wearied, dinned, and benumbed with the cold of the mountains, I crept away to a friendly blanket and sought to sleep. But it was in vain, for still through the night-air were borne up to my ears the far-off crooning, the ululations, and that slow-pulsing, horrid *heh!* of the leaping witches, with all the distant voices, each more distinct than when heard nearer, of the mourning camp. The morning star drew itself far up into the blue reaches of heaven, blinking in the cold, dry California air, and still all the mournful riot of that Walpurgis-night went on.

Then slowly there was drawn over everything a soft curtain of oblivion; the distant voices blended into one undistinguishable murmur, then died away and were still; the mourning was ended; the dancers ceased because they were weary.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 ●

For half an hour, perhaps, I slept. Then awaking suddenly I stood up in my blankets and looked down upon the camp, now broadly flooded by the level sun. It was silent as the grave. Even the unresting dogs slept at last, and the Indian ponies ceased from browsing, and stood still between the manzanita bushes to let the first sunshine warm and mellow up their hides, on which the hair stood out straight. All that wonderful night seemed like the phantasmagoria of a fevered dream. But before the sun was three-quarters of an hour high that tireless herald was out again, and going the rounds with a loud voice, to waken the heavy sleepers. In a few minutes the whole camp was in motion; not one remained, though many an eyelid moved like lead. The choir of singers took their places promptly, squatting on the ground; and a great company of men and women, bearing their offerings aloft, as before, joined in the same dance as described, with the same hissing *heh!* only it was performed in a disorderly rush-round, raising a great cloud of dust. Every five minutes, upon the ceasing of the singers, all faced suddenly to the west, ran forward a few paces, with a great clamor of mourning, and those in the front prostrated themselves, and bowed down their faces to the earth, while others stretched out their arms to the west, and piteously wrung them, with imploring cries, as if beckoning the departed spirits to return, or waving them a last farewell. This is in accordance with their belief in a Happy Western Land. Soon, upon the singers resuming, they all rose and joined again in the tumultuous rush-round. This lasted about an hour; then all was ended for that day, and the weary mourners betook themselves to their booths and to sleep. [775]

Perhaps the only feature that mars this wonderful exhibition, in a moral point of view, is the fact that any mourner, when about to consign a funeral plume or other ornament to the flames in honor of the dead, will accept money for it from a by-stander (provided he is an Indian), if only enough is offered. But they have scruples against selling objects on these occasions to a white man.

At Kern Lake, there was a small tribe which I am at a loss where to place in my classification. There are only a very few of them left, having been removed to Tule River Reservation; and at this latter place I saw only 101

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated.

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied.

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutununtu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure.

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19: Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abundance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of the Chischas 8 leagues. In this ranchería [of Telame] I found 14 old women and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

Saturday, 30.—At 5 A.M. left for the Ranchería of Tontache with guides which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east, northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their ranchería in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache, leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback]. I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
NS29 Yokuts NS29

only by the surrender of arms. An armful of old guns was thereupon gathered and given to the Indians, who departed with apparent satisfaction.

G. A. Chambers, Montague.

Through Rev. W. A. Brewer, San Mateo.

YOKUTS NAMES

171 769 551 In aboriginal California, as everywhere farther north on the Pacific coast and among the tribes of many other regions of America, the custom of not mentioning under any circumstances the name of a dead person was very deep-seated. Among the southern Yokuts of 184 the upper end of the San Joaquin valley, to-day represented principally 769 by the survivors of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani tribes on Tule River 551 Reservation, this feeling led to a peculiar development. Every person ordinarily had two names. Only one of these might be in ordinary use. The second, however, was employed as a reserve in case the death of a namesake, in the same or a neighboring tribe, tabooed the 553 first. Children are said to have received their two names at the same time. New names were not usual, children being named generally after a dead grandfather, uncle, or other relative. Sometimes the names of living relatives were also used. This is proved by the case of a woman, alive a few years ago, who had lost both her names because her brother's daughters had died. A person who had thus lost both his names through the death of others was called "no name," kamun hoyowoc. In default of a name, such a person would, if necessary, be addressed by this term "no name." A namesake was called simply "my name," and this term also would be used in address. Of a person who had lost one of his names through the death of another it would be said: tawitji an yet hoyowosh, "died his one name." Men's and women's names were distinct. Many names had no known significance, but others denoted animals, objects, actions, sounds, or tribes. A list of men's and women's names from Tule River follows: —

Men:

551 Tanka, buzzard; second name, K'aushash, cracking or tapping.

Djichpu; second name, Sokhusha. The latter is also the name of a man living in one of the tribes north of Tule River.

Bikh, denoting an action peculiar to a dog; second name, Saunama.

Putut, make fire; second name, Koku.

Seli, see, from sil; second name, Dumash.

Kukuya, the cry of the mountain quail.

Djemshak.

Tukchuchu.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
NS29 Yokuts NS29

551 Gawu, pronounced Cow by the whites.

Hawasya.

Watokai, from watak, pine nut. Also the name of a man of the Tachi tribe.

Nahaach, otter.

Pitkachi, the name of a tribe on the San Joaquin River, was the name of an old man, now dead, on Tule River Reservation.

Taucha, dead, is the name of an Indian among the Gashowu, now near the San Joaquin River.

Women:

Wiamcha; second name, Dewat.

Wawachik.

Ilat.

Omom.

Yaudach. This name may be related to yawud, brush, or to the tribal name Yaudanchi.

171 551 775 769 [82] The reason of the strict taboo of the names of the dead has not yet become clear. It is as with most customs: explanations can frequently not be given for them by the people observing them. It is probable that in many cases fear of the dead had some connection with the name-taboo. In some parts of California it is thought that the mention of a dead person, especially if he is recently deceased, is likely to bring about the return of his ghost with evil consequences for those visited. This definite explanation will, however, not hold everywhere. The Yokuts say that they are not influenced by any such belief. The only explanation they that can give for their observance of the custom is that the mention of the name causes the relatives of the dead person great grief. This is a motive which is undoubtedly present in the minds of all the Indians of California, whether or not they are in addition actuated by feelings of fear connected with the possible return of the dead. It was usual everywhere to obliterate in every way the memory of the dead as much as possible, especially by the destruction or removal of objects specifically associated with him. [768] The house in which he lived was in many regions burned, destroyed, or abandoned. It soon becomes very evident to any one dealing with the California Indians that mention of their dead relatives and friends usually causes them acute grief, especially among the older people, and that, when they have reason to believe the mention to be deliberate and not made through ignorance, it is received as a deep affront. [688] Among some tribes the greatest insult one person could inflict upon another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives, especially to mention them by name. In northwestern California such a mention, even if accidental, could only be compensated by a considerable payment.

A. L. Kroeber.